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ABSTRACT

These teacher-developed activities help the student to gain a greater awareness of the richness of Russian history and the Soviet past. New materials have been added from the original version and much has been updated. The volume is not a full curriculum but can be integrated into existing study of the world region. The book is divided into five sections with 21 activities. Section 1, "Geography: The Natural Environment," contains: (1) "Geography of Russian and the Newly Independent States"; and (2) "Nature and People of the Former Soviet Union." Section 2, "Prerevolutionary Russia," offers: (1) "A Newspaper for Tsar Peter's Russia"; and (2) "The Frontier in Russian and American Thought." Section 3, "Literature of the Imperial Period of Russian History," includes: (1) "Turgenev's 'Fathers and Sons'"; (2) "Gogol's 'The Nose'"; (3) "Gogol's 'The Overcoat'"; (4) "Chekhov's 'The Peasants'"; and (5) "Tolstoy's 'After the Ball.'" Section 4, "The Soviet Period," contains: (1) "Evaluating Sources"; (2) "Stalin's 'Short Course': Analyzing a Document"; (3) "Let History Judge: An Exploration of the Collectivization of Soviet Agriculture"; (4) "Stalin on Trial: An Instructional Resource Unit in Historical Interpretation and Moral Reasoning"; (5) "Comparing Textbook Accounts of World War II and the Cuban Missile Crisis"; (6) "The Soviet Economy"; (7) "Using Primary Source Materials: Readings from Eisenhower and Gorbachev"; (8) "Planning a Student-Generated Unit on Russia and the Newly Independent States"; (9) "Russian-American Self-Images: A Critical Thinking Unit"; and (10) "On to Mars Together?" Section 5, "Literature of the Soviet Period," includes: (1) "Babel's 'In the Basement'"; and (2) "Solzhenitsyn's 'Matryona's Home.'" (EH)

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ACTIVITIES FOR TEACHING RUSSIAN AND SOVIET STUDIES IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

Edited by
Robert A. Cole and Janet G. Vaillant

SO 028 482

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Social Science Education Consortium
Boulder, Colorado
1990 (Updated 1993)

ACTIVITIES FOR TEACHING RUSSIAN AND SOVIET STUDIES IN THE HIGH SCHOOL

Edited by Robert A. Cole
and
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About The Editors

Robert A. Cole is Social Studies Coordinator at Whitman-Hanson Regional School District in Whitman, Massachusetts.

Janet G. Vaillant is Associate Director of the Soviet and East European Language and Area Center at Harvard University. The Center hosted the two summer seminars that generated the activities presented in this volume.

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the Updated Edition

Much has changed since we first published these activities a short three years ago. The Soviet Union has ceased to exist. What will take its place is not yet clear. Fortunately, Russian history and the Soviet past have not changed. The culture developed there, the form of government of first the Russian empire and then the Soviet Union, and the economic structures developed in the course of industrialization continue to shape what is going on today. Indeed it is impossible to understand why it is so difficult for Russia and the successor states to reform themselves and find political and social stability without understanding the legacy of the past.

We have totally updated those activities that contained outdated information, notably the first two activities on geography, and made small changes in Activities 4, 15, 17, and 18. We decided to leave Activity 19 as it is, because it is really about cooperation with an enemy, an enemy who is also a person from a different culture. Teachers may want to adapt it, substituting Russia for USSR, or keep it as is.

Some new materials on the past few years may help teachers. Geoffrey Hosking, in *The Awakening of the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), provides an excellent readable overview for teachers that connects the Soviet experience with the turmoil of the Gorbachev era. Janet Vaillant and John Richards, *From Russia to USSR and Beyond* (New York: Longman/Addison Wesley, 1992) is available in a new edition that carries the story through the Gorbachev era to the collapse of the Soviet Union in December of 1991. *The Economist*, the British weekly news magazine, has regularly had excellent articles on Russia and the successor states. Occasional long stories, often focusing on a particular geographical region, appear in the *New Yorker*. *Current History* has an annual update on this area in October. The National Geographic map of the area, put out in connection with its March 1993 magazine, which discussed the former Soviet Union, should be in every library.

Good luck to all of you who teach about this region. It offers fascinating teaching opportunities today—to reflect about maps and how they change, about multiethnic polities and their long-term viability, about the power of the past to shape the present, and a host of other questions about people and the way in which they shape and are shaped by the communities into which they are born.

Background on This Volume

This compendium had its origins in two summer seminars for teachers held at Harvard University under the auspices of the Soviet and East European Language and Area Center program. The seminars were supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities, with the first receiving some additional support from the Pepsico Foundation. Each teacher who participated in one of the seminars developed an activity for use in his or her own classroom. These activities became the foundation for this collection. The editors have made extensive revisions, with an eye to making the activities shorter and more easily accessible to teachers without extensive background in Russian and Soviet studies. At the same time, we have tried to preserve the voice of the original author to the greatest extent possible. We anticipate that the main audience for the collection will be high school social studies teachers, but others may adapt the activities for students of different ages or for literature classes.

These activities do not represent a full curriculum, nor are they a substitute for straightforward presentation of the facts and issues of different periods of Russian and Soviet history. They are intended to enhance student understanding, motivate students to want to learn more, and provide alternative ways to approach difficult material. Some, such as the mock trial of Stalin, encourage students to consider ethical issues. Others stimulate thinking about the validity of historical sources; the activities on sources for the study of the revolution and Stalin's official history of the early Soviet period are examples. Still others in the collection remind students of the importance of geography or the fact that history textbooks are written from a specific point of view. The social studies teacher may be surprised

to find so many activities that suggest the use of literature, notably short stories. We feel strongly that for high school students, and indeed for anyone, history becomes more interesting if we are able to remember that it is made by real people confronted with real problems. Great literature helps open this door. Short stories in particular lend themselves to classroom use; when these short stories are by great writers, students can simultaneously develop their literary sensibilities while learning what a situation that existed in the past meant to the people who lived at that time and how it compares with the situation today.

Many of the activities require historical background on the part of students (and teachers, of course). Additional references are supplied for most activities. Those who would like a more complete, annotated bibliography may want *A Guide to Print Materials for Teachers*, available from the Russian and East European Center at the University of Illinois (1208 West California Ave., Urbana, IL 61801) or from the Soviet and East European Language and Area Center (1727 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138).

The short stories that have been chosen as texts are widely available in anthologies. For example, Gogol's "The Nose" and Tolstoy's "After the Ball," may be found in David Richards, ed., *The Penguin Book of Russian Short Stories* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981); Babel's "In the Basement," Gogol's "The Overcoat," and Solzhenitsyn's "Matryona's Home," are all in James E. Miller, Jr., et al., eds., *Russian and East European Literature* (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman, 1970). Several separate anthologies of Chekhov's short stories include "The Peasants," and several editions of Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* are now in print. If the activity based on the story includes vocabulary work, you may need to check the translation that you use to make sure the activity matches it. On the other hand, discrepancies will provide you with the opportunity to discuss the fact that accurate translations may differ (and inaccurate ones all the more!).

Finally, and very importantly, we have purposely focused on the experience and culture of the Russians. Some teachers may feel that this is inappropriate. The fact remains that the Russians and their culture dominated the state in which they lived, both before and after the revolution. They remain by far the most numerous of the former Soviet peoples. Understanding the former Soviet Union must begin, in our view, with the Russians. It may be deepened by further study of the other peoples who lived within the Soviet Union.

Acknowledgments

Many people have worked on these activities in addition to their authors and the editors of this volume. We would like particularly to thank Jim Bogue, who read through the entire manuscript, and Nancy Novak, who helped with the typing. Carol Marshall read and verified many of the literature activities, and David O'Neil played a similar role for many of the history and geography exercises, as well as providing general help. Robert LaRue and Sally Purath provided thoughtful reviews from the teacher's viewpoint. Lubomyr Hajda generously shared his broad knowledge of Soviet history and nationality issues. Laurel Singleton of the Social Science Education Consortium proved to be an intelligent editor and useful critic, for which we thank her. Cindy Cook of the SSEC produced the final manuscript, cheerfully making numerous cycles of corrections. As is always true, the errors that remain are those of the editors. We hope they are few, and welcome emendations and suggestions from those who will use these activities with their students. It is these students and their teachers, after all, for whom this compendium is intended.

Janet G. Vaillant and Robert A. Cole

I. GEOGRAPHY: THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

For secondary students to approach understanding of the multicultural nature of Soviet society and the challenges to its cohesion posed by historical and geographical factors, they need to learn the rudiments of the geography of the area. In introducing the activities in this section, it would be helpful for the teacher to acquaint students with the five fundamental themes in geography:

1. **Location:** position on the planet's surface
2. **Place:** physical and cultural characteristics
3. **Relationships Within Places:** people and their environments
4. **Movement:** human interactions
5. **Regions:** how people create them and how they change

An excellent source on the themes is Regina McCormick and A. David Hill's *Geography: A Resource Book for Secondary Schools* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1989). This book is recommended to construct a pedagogic overview of the fundamental themes of geography.

1. GEOGRAPHY OF RUSSIA AND THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

Introduction:

What follows is a series of worksheet activities designed to reinforce basic geographic concepts while developing a fund of specific geographic knowledge pertaining to Russia and the newly independent states. The activities will establish a foundation for further study of Russian/Soviet history and geography.

These activities can be employed "as is," or adapted for a classroom setting featuring individual or group work. They can be used as homework assignments, before or during a unit on Russian/Soviet history or current events.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Identify the latitude and longitude of cities.

2. Locate geographic features of Russia and the newly independent states on a map.

3. Name the neighbors of Russia and the newly independent states.

4. Use a time zone map.

5. Compare the geography of these countries with that of the United States.

Materials and Preparation: You will need copies of all the handouts provided with the activity. Students will need access to a good atlas, one that provides a comprehensive map of the area.

Time Required: Each of the worksheets can occupy one homework assignment or one-half to one class period.

Procedure:

1. Introduce the activity with a general discussion of the importance of geography, especially its impact on history and the development of cultures. Assign the various handouts as individual or group work, to be completed in class or as homework. You may need to review the concepts of latitude and longitude before assigning Handout 1-1 and the concept of time zones before assigning Handout 1-4.

For your convenience, answer keys for Handouts 1-1, 1-2, 1-3, and 1-4 are provided below.

Handout 1-1 Answer Key:

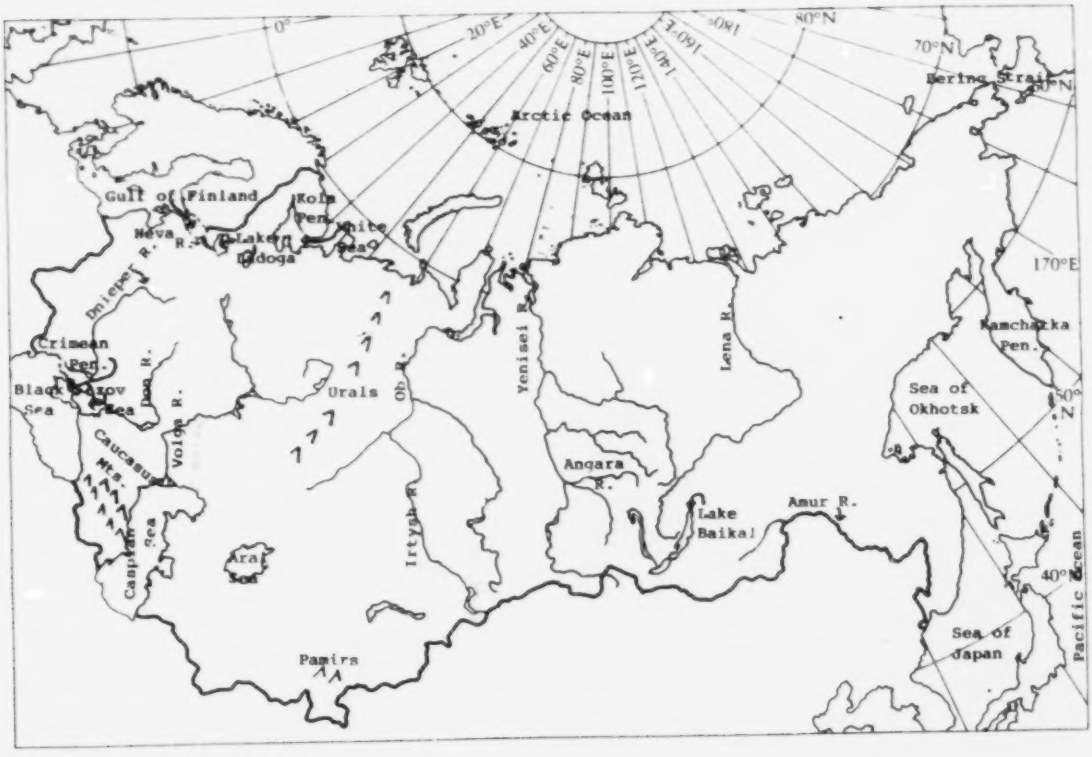
City	Latitude	Country
Miami	26° N	USA
Los Angeles	34° N	USA
Chicago	42° N	USA
Boston	42° N	USA
Anchorage	61° N	USA

Activity developed by Andrea Deardorff, Exeter High School, Exeter, New Hampshire, and Robert A. Cole, Whitman-Hanson Regional High School, Whitman, Massachusetts. Updated June 1993 by Janet G. Vaillant.

Ottawa	45° N	Canada
Athens	38° N	Greece
Bucharest	44° N	Romania
Vienna	48° N	Austria
Madrid	40° N	Spain
London	51° N	England
Copenhagen	55° N	Denmark
Berlin	52° N	Germany
Hamburg	53° N	Germany
Stockholm	59° N	Sweden
Oslo	60° N	Norway
Stavropol	45° N	Russia (Russian Federation)
Kiev	50° N	Ukraine
Moscow	56° N	Russia
Bratsk	56° N	Russia
Baku	40° N	Azerbaijan
St. Petersburg	60° N	Russia
Murmansk	69° N	Russia
Irkutsk	52° N	Russia
Minsk	54° N	Belarus
Krasnodar	45° N	Russia
Vladivostok	42° N	Russia

1. Vladivostok; **2.** Berlin; **3.** Oslo, Anchorage, Stockholm; **4.** South-Baku, North-Murmansk; **5.** cold climates, little sunshine in winter.

Handout 1-2 Answer Key: See map below.



Handout 1-3 Answer Key: See map below. The dot in each republic locates its capital. Republics and their capital are:

Russia (R.S.F.S.R.)	Moscow
Belarus	Minsk
Azerbaijan	Baku
Latvia	Riga
Armenia	Yerevan
Ukraine	Kiev
Uzbekistan	Tashkent
Lithuania	Vilnius
Kyrgyzia	Bishkek (formerly Frunze)
Turkmenistan	Ashkhabad
Kazakhstan	Alma-Ata
Georgia	Tbilisi
Moldova	Chisinau (formerly Kishinev)
Tajikistan	Dushanbe
Estonia	Tallinn

Handout 1-4 Answer Key: **1.** 10 p.m.; **2.** 6 p.m.; **3.** 5 a.m.; **4.** 9 p.m.; **5.** 3 a.m.; **6.** 12 midnight; **7.** 1:20 p.m.; **8.** 1225; **9.** 2130; **10.** 2145; **11.** 1915; **12.** 1935; **13.** 1010; **14.** 2200.

2. Conclude the activity by discussing the significance of similarities and differences between the geography of Russia and the newly independent states and that of the United States. The following questions can be used to stimulate discussion:

- How much larger was the USSR than the United States? What is the relative size of Russia and the United States?
- Which area has more severe weather? Why might this be important?
- Both areas have variations in topography and climate. How might this influence lifestyles in the two countries?
- What natural resources do both areas have? How many of these are in Russia?
- Is Russia or the United States more densely populated? How are the populations of the two countries distributed?
- Why is it significant that so many of Russia's rivers flow north?

Evaluation:

The handouts can be graded, or a test can be used to measure student progress and understanding.

References:

Finkelstein, Milton, James Flanagan, and Norman L. Lunger, *Global Geography* (New York: Amsco, 1986).

"The Soviet Union, 1988," *Current History* 87, no. 531 (October 1988).

Talbot, Elizabeth, and Janet Vaillant, eds., *Russia/Soviet Union: A Guide to Print Materials for Teachers* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1985), pp. 92-93. See the section on atlases.

Time 30, no. 17 (October 26, 1987). Issue includes 28-page portfolio of photographs in special feature entitled "A Day in the Life of the Soviet Union," as well as 10-page essay of "visitor's impressions" by Roger Rosenblatt entitled "Enter This House and Let the Ice Melt."

LATITUDE AND RUSSIA AND THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

In comparison with the United States and most of Europe, Russia occupies a more northerly position. To demonstrate this fact, locate the following cities in an atlas. Once you have found each one, write its correct latitude and country in the spaces provided.

City	Latitude	Country
Miami		
Los Angeles		
Chicago		
Boston		
Anchorage		
Ottawa		
Athens		
Bucharest		
Vienna		
Madrid		
London		
Copenhagen		
Berlin		
Hamburg		
Stockholm		
Oslo		
Stavropol		
Kiev		
Moscow		
Bratsk		
Baku		
St. Petersburg		
Murmansk		
Irkutsk		
Minsk		
Krasnodar		
Vladivostok		

Use the information you have collected to answer these questions:

1. What Russian city is closest in latitude to Chicago? _____
2. What European city has the same latitude as Irkutsk? _____
3. What cities share nearly the same latitude with St. Petersburg? _____

   _____
4. Of all the cities listed, which is the furthest south? _____

   North? _____
5. Identify two characteristics associated with northern latitudes. _____

   _____

GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF RUSSIA AND THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

On the map provided, find and label each of the features listed below.

Large Bodies of Water (Label these bodies of water and color them blue):

Arctic Ocean	Caspian Sea	Gulf of Finland
Sea of Okhotsk	Black Sea	Azov Sea
Sea of Japan	White Sea	Bering Strait
Lake Baikal	Lake Ladoga	
Aral Sea	Pacific Ocean	

Rivers:

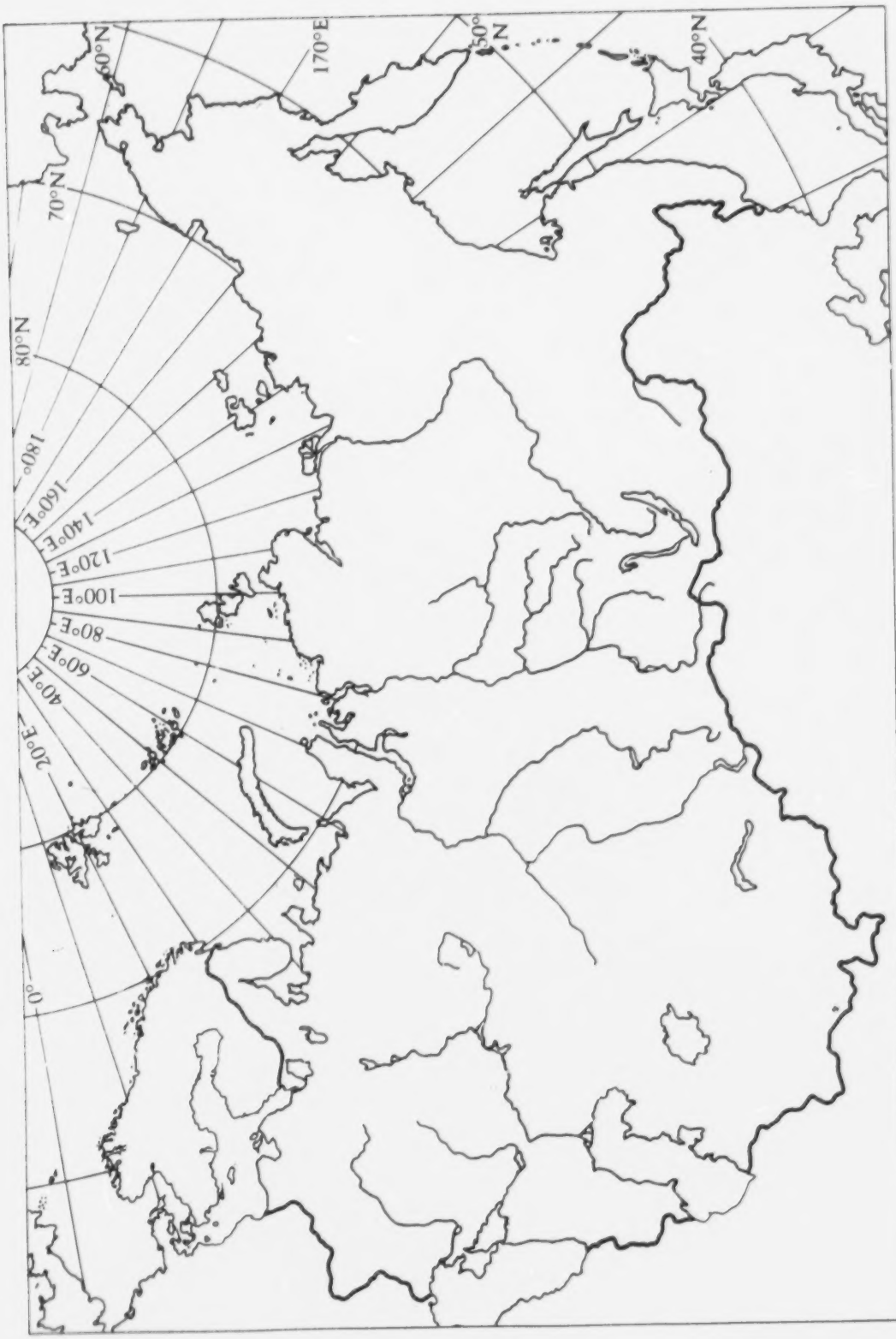
Dnieper	Irtysh	Amur
Lena	Ob	Yenisei
Don	Neva	Angara
Volga		

Mountains (Draw and label the mountains):

Caucasus	Urals	Pamirs

Peninsulas:

Crimean	Kamchatka	Kola


60°N
170°E
50°N
40°N
70°N
80°N
180°
160°E
140°E
120°E
100°E
80°E
60°E
40°E
20°E
0°

RUSSIA, THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES, AND THEIR NEIGHBORS

On the map provided, label Russia and the newly independent states. Using a new atlas, find the capital of each republic. On your map, place a dot where the capital is located. Below, write the names of the capitals.

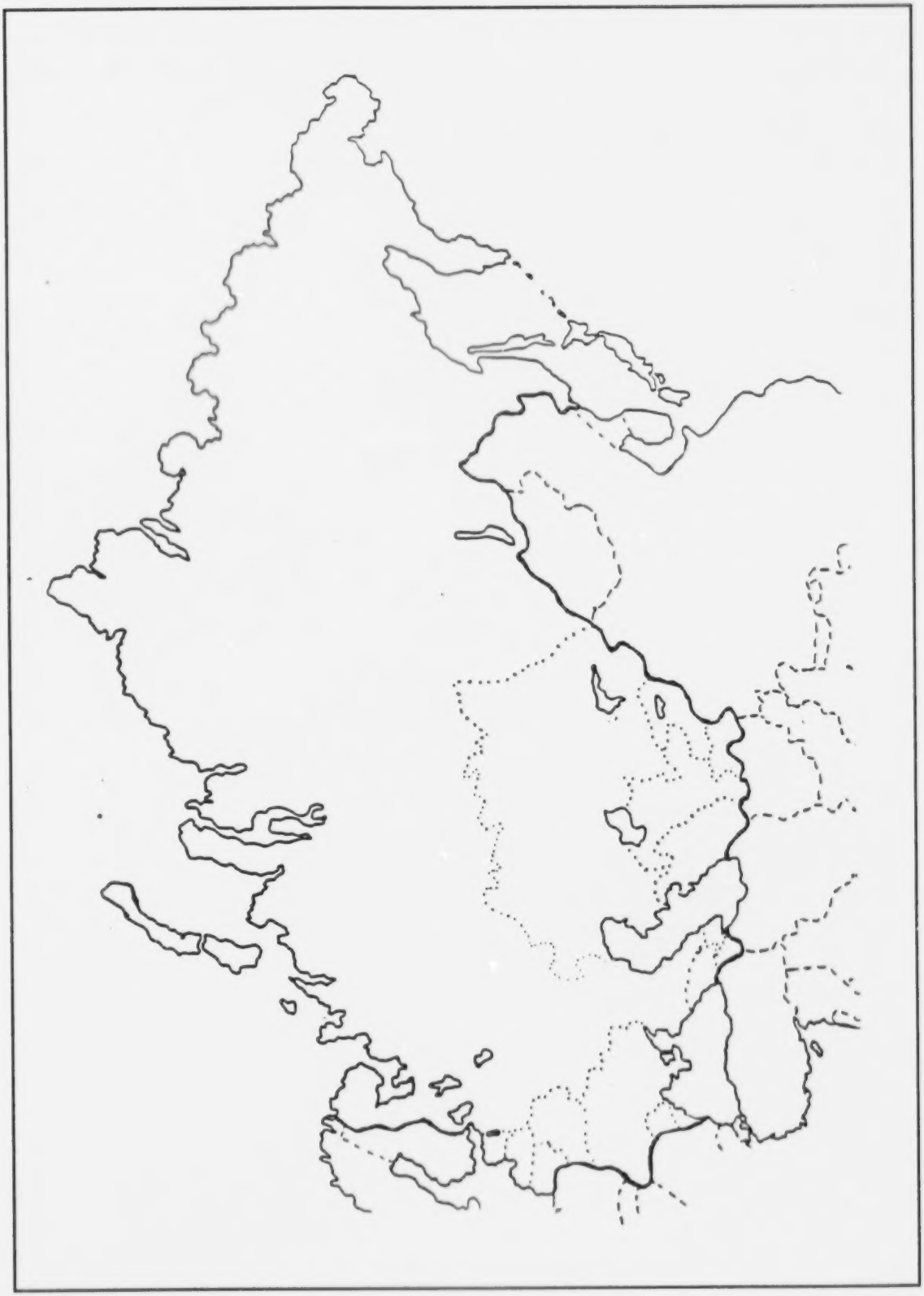
Soviet Republic	**Capital**
Russian Federation	_____
Belarus	_____
Ukraine	_____
Moldova	_____
Latvia	_____
Lithuania	_____
Estonia	_____
Armenia	_____
Georgia	_____
Azerbaijan	_____
Kazakhstan	_____
Kyrgyzia	_____
Turkmenistan	_____
Uzbekistan	_____
Tajikistan	_____

Next, label these countries, which share a land border with one of the new states:

Romania	Czechoslovakia	Iran
Poland	Norway	Mongolia
Hungary	China	North Korea
Finland	Turkey	Afghanistan

Finally, label the neighbors separated from the new states by a small strip of land or by water:

Sweden	Japan	Bulgaria
Pakistan		



TIME ZONES OF RUSSIA AND THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

An area covering as many degrees of longitude as Russia and the newly independent states has many time zones. Using the time zone map provided, answer the following questions. You will also need an atlas.

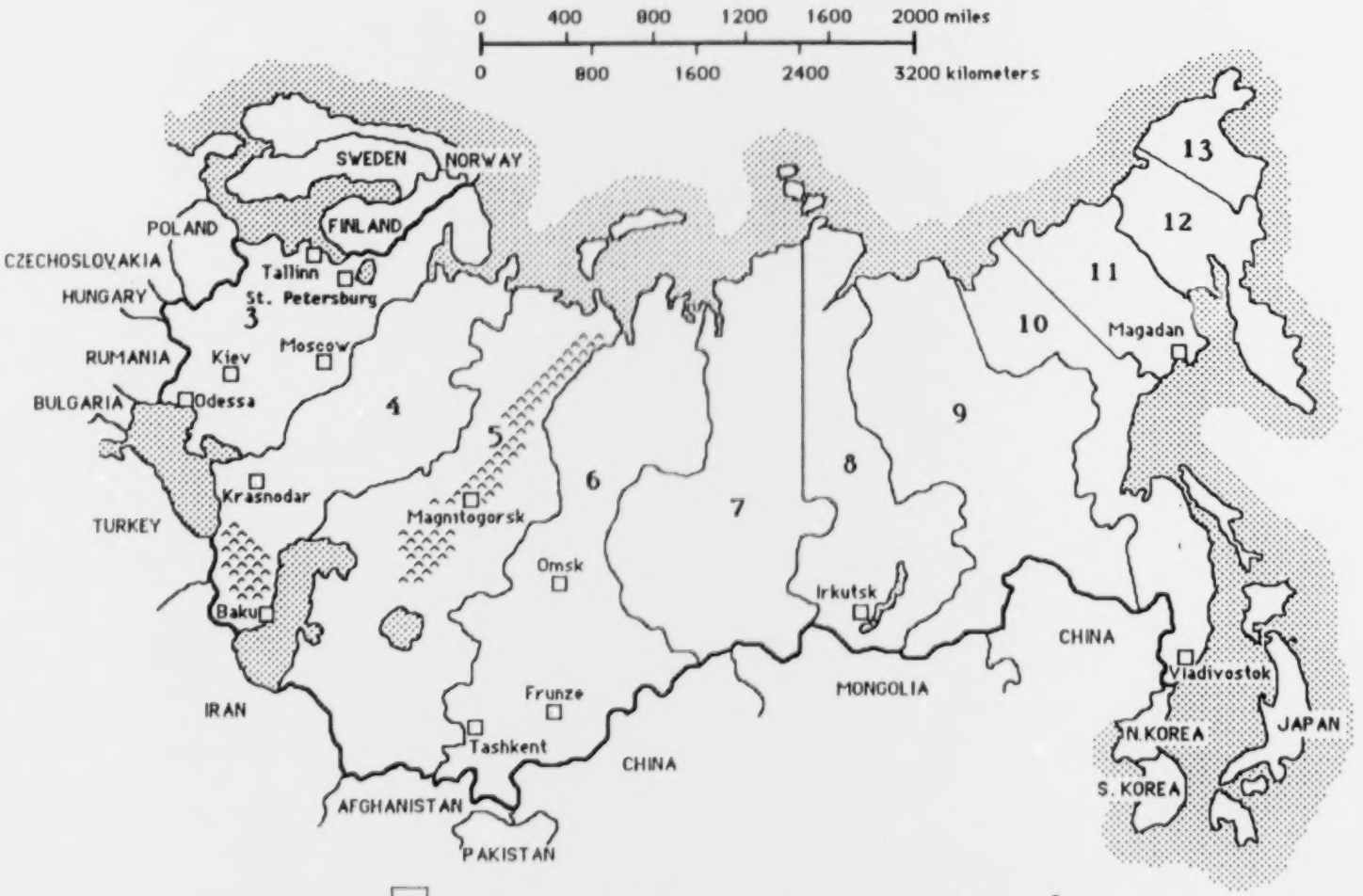
1. When it is 12:00 noon in Moscow, what time is it on the Bering Sea coast? _____
2. When it is 7:00 p.m. in Baku, what time is it in Kiev? _____
3. When it is 3:00 a.m. in Tashkent, what time is it in Irkutsk? _____
4. When it is 4:00 p.m. in Omsk, what time is it in Magadan? _____
5. When it is 9:00 a.m. on the Kamchatka Peninsula, what time is it in Frunze? _____
6. When it is 12:00 midnight in Kiev, what time is it in Moscow? _____
7. When it is 2:20 p.m. on the northwest shore of the Caspian Sea, what time is it on the Kola Peninsula? _____

In many parts of the world, Russia included, people frequently use the 24-hour clock. This method of telling time is also common in the American and Canadian military. When using this system, the minutes and hours are numbered from the passing of midnight, onward into the new day. For example, 0001 is one minute past 12:00 a.m. 2400 is the following midnight. 0330 is 3:30 in the morning. 1745 is quarter of 6 in the evening.

Use the 24-hour clock to answer the following questions.

8. When it is 0925 is Magnitogorsk, what time is it in Irkutsk? _____
9. When it is 2030 hours in St. Petersburg, what time is it in Krasnodar? _____
10. When it is 0445 in Vladivostok, what time is it in Odessa? _____
11. When it is 1615 hours in Moscow, what time is it in Tashkent? _____
12. When it is 2335 where the Soviet Pacific coast touches the Korean Peninsula, what time is it in Omsk? _____
13. When it is 0510 in Tallinn, what time is it at Lake Baikal? _____
14. When it is 2100 in Odessa, what time is it on the northern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains? _____

TIME ZONES IN THE SOVIET UNION



3 Number of hours ahead of Greenwich Mean Time (0° long.)

2. NATURE AND PEOPLE OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

"Nature...is a friend you will never lose until death—and even when you die, you disappear into nature."

Leo Tolstoy

Introduction:

Secondary students who learn about the natural environment of the former Soviet Union should also consider the effects of the natural environment on the way people actually live. Because of the enormous size of their country, the environment in which these peoples lived varied tremendously from place to place. Part of this activity focuses on the area around Moscow and St. Petersburg, where Russian culture developed. Its environment differs enormously, of course, from that of Georgia, Uzbekistan, and even southern Russia. The second part of the activity contains exercises to familiarize students with the newly independent states of the former USSR and their cultural and historic ties with their neighbors. The final portion of the activity emphasizes the linguistic, religious, and cultural groupings of the states, important background information for understanding the many problems facing the new states. Each part of the activity can be done separately.

This activity should be preceded by a map exercise such as Activity 1. Students should be familiar with the concept of continental climate and have some knowledge of the great size of the USSR, the northerly location of the Russian republic, and the varied topographies and locations of other republics. This exercise is designed to reinforce that knowledge and to encourage students to consider its implications.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Describe the effects of the location of Moscow and St. Petersburg, the historic centers of Russia, on daily life.

2. Give examples of how location and climate affect history.

3. Describe the variety of natural environments in which the peoples of Russia and the newly independent states live and the types of links that join them—languages, religions, and/or ethnic backgrounds.

Materials and Preparation: Make copies of the handouts provided with this activity. Students will need access to a good atlas and an up-to-date encyclopedia. (Out-of-date maps provide opportunities for discussion about political [vs. natural] borders. A March 1993 map is available from the National Geographic Society.) Access to the school or town library will be required if you decide to use the extension/enrichment exercises on the new states; you will need to check the library to ensure that the necessary materials are available.

Time Required: Part 1 of the activity can be completed in two homework assignments or class periods in the library; if reports are presented orally, two additional class periods may be required. Part 2 of the activity requires 20 minutes at the end of a class, plus homework and a one-period class discussion. Additional time will be required for extension/enrichment activities.

Developed by Rosemarie Burk, Radnor Senior High School, Radnor, Pennsylvania, and Janet Vaillant, Soviet and East European Language and Area Center, Harvard University. Updated June 1993 by Janet G. Vaillant.

Procedure:

Part 1: Winter in Russia

1. Introduce this activity with a general discussion of some of the "costs" of winter: warm and expensive clothes, fuel to heat houses, tools and time to shovel snow and remove ice, as well as the public expense of snow removal, heating public buildings, etc. Discuss how technological advances have affected people's ability to cope with winter: snowplows and cars facilitate travel, compared with the days of horse, foot, and buggy; central heating frees time previously needed to chop wood; electric lights make the darkness more bearable.

2. Distribute Handout 2-1. Assign all students to complete task 1 and two or three additional items. Note that task two is only appropriate for students in northerly locations. As an example, the teacher might refer to Concord, Massachusetts, a city of approximately 16,000. In 1989, the town spent $159,000 on snow removal; in the first half of 1990, over $230,000. You may ask students to work individually or with groups. After two class periods working in the library (or several homework assignments), students should discuss their answers in class.

Part 2: Investigating the Newly Independent States of the Former Soviet Union

1. Hand out the list of the republics that used to be part of the Soviet Union (Handout 2-2) and ask each student to answer the first two questions. After sharing the results, each student should choose a republic upon which to become the class "expert." Be sure each country has at least one such expert. All students should then undertake questions 3-8 on the handout as homework. Be alert to the fact that information on some areas may be hard to find. If you have limited resources, you may have to assign a region: Central Asia, the Baltics, or the Caucasus.

2. Using the information gathered, students should discuss the distinctive characteristics of "their" countries. Teachers might ask which country has the first (oldest) event recorded in history, which have Islam or Christianity as a religion, which speak Slavic languages, etc. Teachers may then ask students to group their countries—by language, geographical location, religion, historical experience. Neighboring countries can be included in the groupings. For example:

- Latvia can be grouped with Germany by religion.
- Lithuania, by religion and history, is linked to Poland.
- Estonia can be grouped by language with Finland, by history with Germany.
- Tajikistan and Iran are grouped by religion and language.
- Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine are linked by language, religion, and history. (You may want to point out that in the western part of the Ukraine, the Uniates follow the same liturgy as the Orthodox Church but look upon the Catholic Pope as the head of their church.)
- Moldova is linked by language, culture, and history to Romania. In June 1990, Romanians and Moldovans crossed the border to celebrate their common heritage.
- Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzia, the Kazakhs of Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan constitute an Islamic group; Azerbaijan is linked to Turkey by language and to Iran by Shi'ite Islam. (You may or may not want to discuss differences within Islam between Sunni and Shi'ite or assign a student to find out about these differences.)

The chart on pages 20-22 provides details for your use in checking students' work.

Evaluation:

To evaluate student learning, ask them to do one of the following:

1. Choose and define an area in Russia or one of the newly independent states, describing how its location influences the daily life of the people who live there.

2. Select two of the newly independent states and explain how each is tied to its neighbors by language, culture, history, and/or religion.

Extension/Enrichment:

If you wish to devote more time to this subject, ask all students to complete Handout 2-3, either as written homework or for class presentation, as individuals or in groups. If you choose to do this part of the activity, save the "grouping" of countries discussion until the projects have been completed. Questions from the clue cards (see item 8 on Handout 2-3) and/or a trivia quiz can be used to evaluate knowledge gained by students. If you have access to an historical atlas, ask students to see if they can find maps of periods in which the newly independent states were grouped in different ways.

References:

Doroshinskaya, Yelena, "How Much Does Winter Cost?" *Soviet Life* (February 1985), pp. 36-37. (See also "Winter—Russian Style" in same issue.)

Hajda, Lubomyr, and Mark Beissinger, eds., *The Nationalities Factor in Soviet Politics and Society* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990). This is by far the most complete and up-to-date discussion of the Soviet nationalities. It includes tables for teacher and student reference.

McDowell, Bart, and Dean Conger, *Journey Across Russia* (Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, 1977).

The National Geographic map of the USSR (1990) is an excellent resource for general physical geography and ethnic distribution. See also *National Geographic* 177, no. 3 (March 1990) and 180, no. 3 (March 1993).

Country	Religion	Language Group	Neighbor(s)	Religion	Language Group	Acquired by Russia*	Date of Entry into the USSR as a Union Republic**
1. Armenia	Gregorian Christian	Armenian (Indo-European)	Turkey	Sunni Muslim	Turkic	1828	1936
			Iran	Shi'ite Muslim	Iranian		
			Azerbaijan	Shi'ite Muslim	Turkic		
			Georgia	Orthodox, Sunni, Muslim	Caucasian		
2. Azerbaijan	Shi'ite Muslim	Turkic	Iran	Shi'ite Muslim	Iranian	1813-1828	1936
			Armenia	Gregorian Christian	Armenian (Indo-European)		
			Georgia	Orthodox, Sunni Muslim	Caucasian		
			Russia	Orthodox	Slavic		
3. Belarus (White Russia)	Orthodox, Catholic	Slavic	Poland	Catholic	Slavic	1772-1795	1924
			Latvia	Lutheran, Catholic	Baltic		
			Lithuania	Catholic	Baltic		
			Russia	Orthodox	Slavic		
			Ukraine	Orthodox, Uniate	Slavic		
4. Estonia‡	Lutheran	Finno-Ugric	Finland	Lutheran	Finno-Ugric	1710- 1721	1940
			Latvia	Lutheran, Catholic	Baltic		
			Russia	Orthodox	Slavic		
5. Georgia	Orthodox, Sunni Muslim	Caucasian	Turkey	Sunni Muslim	Turkic	1801	1936
			Armenia	Gregorian Christian	Armenian (Indo-European)		
			Azerbaijan	Shi'ite Muslim	Turkic		
			Russia	Orthodox	Slavic		
6. Kazakhstan	Sunni Muslim	Turkic	China	Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist	Chinese (Sino-Tibetan)	1731-1860	1936
			Kyrgyz Republic	Sunni Muslim	Turkic		
			Russia	Orthodox	Slavic		
			Turkmenistan	Sunni Muslim	Turkic		
			Uzbekistan	Sunni Muslim	Turkic		

Country	Religion	Language Group	Neighbor(s)	Religion	Language Group	Acquired by Russia*	Date of Entry into the USSR as a Union Republic**
7. Kyrgyz Republic	Sunni Muslim	Turkic	China	Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist	Chinese (Sino-Tibetan)	1855-1876	1936
			Kazakhstan	Sunni Muslim	Turkic		
			Tajikistan	Sunni Muslim	Iranian		
			Uzbekistan	Sunni Muslim	Turkic		
8. Latvia‡	Lutheran Catholic	Baltic	Finland	Lutheran	Finno-Ugric	1710/1721-1772	1940
			Sweden	Lutheran	Germanic		
			Belarus	Orthodox, Uniate	Slavic		
			Estonia	Lutheran	Finno-Ugric		
			Lithuania	Catholic	Baltic		
			Russia	Orthodox	Slavic		
9. Lithuania‡	Catholic	Baltic	Poland	Catholic	Slavic	1795	1940
			Belarus	Orthodox, Uniate	Slavic		
			Latvia	Lutheran, Catholic	Baltic		
			Russia	Orthodox	Slavic		
10. Moldova‡‡	Orthodox	Romance	Romania	Orthodox	Romance	1812	1940
			Ukranine	Orthodox, Uniate	Slavic		
11. Russia	Orthodox	Slavic	Poland	Catholic	Slavic	—	1924
			Finland	Lutheran	Finno-Ugric		
			Mongolia	Buddhist	Mongolian		
			Japan+	Buddhist, Shintoist	Japanese		
			China	Confucian, Buddhist, Taoist	Chinese (Sino-Tibetan)		
			North Korea	Buddhist	Korean		
			Azerbaijan	Shi'ite Muslim	Turkic		
			Belarus	Orthodox, Uniate	Slavic		
			Estonia	Lutheran	Finno-Ugric		
			Kazakhstan	Sunni Muslim	Turkic		
			Latvia	Lutheran, Catholic	Baltic		
			Lithuania	Catholic	Baltic		
			Ukraine	Orthodox, Uniate	Slavic		

Country	Religion	Language Group	Neighbor(s)	Religion	Language Group	Acquired by Russia*	Date of Entry into the USSR as a Union Republic**
12. Tajikistan	Sunni Muslim	Iranian	Afghanistan China Kyrgyz Uzbekistan	Sunni Muslim Confucian Sunni Muslim Sunni Muslim	Iranian Chinese Turkic Turkic	1865-1876	1929
13. Turkmenistan	Sunni Muslim	Turkic	Afghanistan Iran Kazakhstan Uzbekistan	Sunni Muslim Shi'ite Muslim Sunni Muslim Sunni Muslim	Indo-Iranian Iranian Turkic Turkic	1865-1885	1925
14. Ukraine	Orthodox, Uniate	Slavic	Poland Romania Czechoslovakia Hungary Belarus Moldova Russia	Catholic Orthodox Catholic Catholic Orthodox, Uniate Orthodox Orthodox	Slavic Romance Slavic Finno-Ugric Slavic Romance Slavic	1654-1795	1924
15. Uzbekistan	Sunni Muslim	Turkic	Afghanistan Kazakhstan Kyrgyz Republic Tajikistan Turkmenistan	Sunni Muslim Sunni Muslim Sunni Muslim Sunni Muslim Sunni Muslim	Indo-Iranian Turkic Turkic Iranian Turkic	1865-1876	1925

* Acquisition of these areas by the Russian empire often occurred over many years, and the criteria for determining incorporation vary; thus, the dates are approximate. Please recognize the limited capacity of a chart to present complicated historical experience.

** In considering the date of entry into the USSR, it is important to remember that the Soviet Union as a federated state was created in 1924. Furthermore, many of the present 15 Soviet Socialist Republics were at one time part of other republics or first established as autonomous republics. For example, from 1924 to 1936, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan formed the Transcaucasian Federation. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was dissolved in December 1991.

‡ The Baltic states were independent from 1918 to 1940.

‡‡ Moldova (Bessarabia) was part of Romania from 1918 to 1940.

+ No land border, but is across the Sea of Japan.

WINTER IN RUSSIA

Sir Giles Fletcher, English ambassador to the court of Fedor (Ivan the Terrible's son) from 1588 to 1590, was one notable Westerner who left Russia very much impressed with its winter. Of his experiences he said:

> It would breede a frost in a man to look abroad at that time and see the winter face of that countrie....Bears and wolves issue by troupes out of the woods. Rivers and all waters frozen up a yarde or more thicke, however swifte or broade they may be.

Of course, things have changed considerably. In today's Russia, cars, trucks, and buses have become indispensable, and heavy snowfalls are a nuisance that must be quickly taken care of. Life has to go on in winter, so people bundle up and carry on as usual—almost. In the coldest parts of Siberia, for example, truck engines must be kept running all night to keep them from freezing.

1. Find three North American places on the same latitude as Moscow. What is the temperature in Moscow today? In your hometown or city? What is the average temperature in Moscow in October, January, March, July? In your town?

2. Form a committee and investigate how much your community spends per year on snow-removal. What is the average for the past five years? How many people are employed for that purpose? Is snow removal a municipal responsibility, or does your community hire private contractors?

3. Make a list of annual tasks that a person has to do to get self, car, and house "ready" for winter.

4. Plan an itinerary for a two-week winter trip to Russia. What places would you want to visit? How would you travel throughout your trip? Write a journal of your trip that shows, among other things, how Russians manage to "carry on" during the winter season. The journal should include an account of meeting a young man named Sergei, a blizzard that blocked your train or car, an expedition planned to a grocery story, and a trip to get a sable hat.

5. Find some examples of Russian poetry or fiction that describe life in winter. How would these artistic images be changed by contemporary technology?

6. Research the role that winter played during the invasions of Russia by Napoleon and Hitler.

7. Prepare a report on how Russian life might be the same and/or different from life in your community during one season of the year.

PEOPLE OF THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

1. Read the list of countries below. If you have heard of a country, circle it.
2. If you know someone from a country or know an American who has visited there, place a check-mark next to it.

Armenia	Lithuania
Azerbaijan	Moldova
Belarus	Russia
Estonia	Tajikistan
Georgia	Turkmenistan
Kazakhstan	Ukraine
Kyrgyz Republic	Uzbekistan
Latvia	

Choose one country to specialize in; then find answers to questions 3-8 for your country.

3. Find an up-to-date encyclopedia (one that is not more than five years old). Read the entry describing your area. List at least seven facts about the area on a 5 x 8 card. Be sure to include the language spoken by the people for whom the country is named, the language family to which it belongs, and the most important religion.
4. What former Soviet republics border your country? What is their location relative to you (i.e., to the north, to the southwest, to the northeast, etc.)?
5. What other countries border your country? What languages are spoken in these neighboring countries? Is the language of your country related to any of the languages of your neighbors who were not part of the USSR? Which ones?
6. Is the religion of your country related to the religion of any of your neighbors inside or outside of the former Soviet Union? Which neighbors?
7. Make a timeline showing the history of your area. This may be easy for some countries and nearly impossible for others. When did it join the Russian empire or the Soviet Union? Was it ever part of another country or empire?
8. Optional question: Approximately how many Russians live in your country? Are there any other large ethnic groups in your country? What can you find out about them? A *World Almanac* may help you on this question.

RESEARCH PROJECTS

At your school or local public library, locate and record the author, title, and publishing information for seven books or articles about your country. You may have to visit more than one library if you chose one of the less well-traveled areas.

Check out a travel memoir—a book, chapter, or brochure written about someone's travel in the area of your choice—and begin reading it.

Choose at least five of the following activities to do to get to know your country better.

1. Find pictures and illustrations of the architecture of your region in different periods in history; show them to the class and give explanations.

2. Plan a tour of your country. Prepare the itinerary of a two- or three-week trip to that area of the world. What places would you want to visit in that time? What transportation is available? How far is it from your city or village to this area? If you were to fly, what ocean(s) would you cross? Would you fly the polar route? How many hours would it take you to get there? Would you have to change planes? Plan to visit at least five cities or other spots of interest (e.g., lakes, mountains, monuments). Ask a travel agent to help you.

3. Do a report on the plants (trees and crops) and animals (wild, domestic, and pets) of your area. Display pictures if possible; *National Geographic* and natural history magazines are excellent sources for some of this information.

4. Visit an international market, an international fair, a restaurant specializing in your region's cuisine, or a store owned by someone from your country. This may be easy for some and impossible for others (e.g., easy for Armenia, impossible for Turkmenistan). Show recipes, menus, anything you found from that area and culture; you can use photographs or make tape-recordings of interviews, music, activities at fairs, etc.

5. Develop a trivia quiz for your country. The quiz should contain 15 or 20 questions. They can be true-false, multiple-choice, matching, or a combination. Give your quiz to at least three people. Pick a variety of people—your grandfather, a neighbor, the school secretary, a friend, a salesperson in your local supermarket. What did you learn from this quiz? What did the people you asked learn from it? Perhaps you can try it out on the class.

6. Invite someone who is from your area or who has been to your area to come to class. Prepare at least five thoughtful interview questions you would like to ask. Give your classmates a chance to ask questions, too. Check with your teacher to make sure the time and place are convenient.

7. Make a map of your country. Include as much information as you can, but spend no more than three hours on this activity. Things to put on the map:

cities	climate
rivers and streams	flora (plants)
lakes	fauna (animals)
seas	mountains
roads	deserts
natural resources	agriculture

8. Make 20 to 30 clue cards about the area. None of the clues should be so obvious that you "give away" the identity of your country. Include information about the geography, climate, language, religion, flora and fauna, politics, and economics of your area. Distribute the cards to your class or a group of friends. See if they can guess your country.

9. Create a newspaper! Collect articles about your target area from newspapers and magazines. Display the articles on construction paper or newsprint. Design an appropriate masthead showing the title of your newspaper, such as *The Crimean Courier* (Crimea) or *Tajik Times* (Tajikistan).

10. Research one famous person connected with your region; "become" that person. Write a paper as though it were your own autobiography; tell the class about your life, your surroundings, your background, and your hopes and goals.

11. Write one or two letters on your school letterhead requesting information and books (fiction or nonfiction) written about your country. Make one copy and mail the original to the country's embassy, tourist information office, consulate, or U.N. mission.

II.
PREREVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

The two activities in this section present approaches to the prerevolutionary period in Russian history. The first involves students in putting together a newspaper that reports on the events of Peter the Great's reign.

The second activity encourages students to approach some of the historical data from a theoretical perspective. Students employ their knowledge to test an academic theory as it applies to the Russian/Soviet past. A comparative study of the historical environments of the Russian and American frontiers will lead secondary students to inquire about the possibility that there are (and are not) parallel developments in our respective histories.

3. A NEWSPAPER FOR TSAR PETER'S RUSSIA

Introduction:

One of the most dramatic figures in Russian history, Peter the Great, was intent upon bringing reform to his people. He was determined to "Westernize" his country by using his power as tsar to make radical changes. One result was the creation of tension and controversy in early 18th-century Russia. This activity is designed to acquaint students with both the controversial aspects of Peter's reforms and the progressive nature of some of his specific programs.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Describe the reforms of Peter the Great.

2. Explain why some of the reforms were controversial.

3. Work cooperatively in groups to create a product.

4. Use research, writing, drawing, and designing skills to create a newspaper.

Materials and Preparation: Students will need copies of Handout 3-1, as well as some biographical information on Tsar Peter and his reforms. Primary source documents (available in Vaillant and Richards, *From Russia to USSR*, or Dmytryshyn, *Imperial Russia*), such as Peter's decrees on Western dress and beard licenses, would be most helpful. Access to computers can enhance student efforts to develop appropriate formats for their newspapers.

Time Required: Groups will need one class period to organize their work and several days of homework to prepare the articles. Student-led discussions can be varied in length, depending on the interests and needs of both teacher and students.

Procedure:

1. Review with students what they have learned about the reforms of Peter the Great, including the fact that he started the nation's first newspaper. Tell students they are going to create newspapers that will both list and discuss Peter's reforms.

2. Divide the class into groups of three to five students. Each group will become the staff of a newspaper. Provide them with copies of the handout and allow groups to choose the events on which they will focus. Encourage groups to choose different events.

3. When the newspapers are complete, allow time for the student presentations described on the handout.

Evaluation:

As the newspaper itself is a group project, teachers can evaluate the work of the group as a whole. Individual work can be assessed at the time of student presentation of the issues discussed in the newspapers. A unit test on Russian history should include a question about Peter and his reforms.

Developed by Katharine Horne, Andover High School, Andover, Massachusetts.

References:

Dmytryshyn, Basil, ed., *Imperial Russia: A Source Book, 1700-1917* (Hinsdale, IL: The Dryden Press, 1974). This reference includes sources from Peter the Great's time.

Massie, Peter K., *Peter the Great* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1980).

Raeff, Mark, *Peter the Great Changes Russia* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1972).

Teacher Background Information:

One distinguished historian has written that "Peter's reign was the culmination of processes long at work...." With this observation in mind, it is important to understand that precedents for Tsar Peter's politics and reforms were established by earlier Russian rulers. See, for example, Chapter III, Part 2 in James H. Billington's *The Icon and the Axe* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970).

VEDOMOSTI
THE ADMINISTRATION

In 1703, Peter I introduced and edited Russia's first newspaper, *Vedomosti*. Unlike his predecessors, Peter wanted the people to be better informed on contemporary issues. Previously, news had been considered the province of rulers, who felt no need to share it with the ruled.

Your group is to put together a newspaper that reports on one of these events of Peter's reign:

- Construction of St. Petersburg
- Introduction of the Soul Tax
- Changing the inheritance laws
- Requirement of Western dress
- Removal of boyar women from the *terem*
- Education of sons of the nobility
- Establishing the Holy Synod
- Introduction of the Table of Ranks
- Death of the Tsarevich Alexis

Your newspaper should be two or three pages long and include the following:

- A masthead with the name of the paper, its date, and an appropriate logo
- The feature article, with a headline
- A selection from a decree, *ukase*, that relates to the focal issue
- A political cartoon
- An article about a roughly contemporaneous event in the West
- An editorial interpretation representing the government's position
- A letter from a subject who feels adversely affected by the issue in the featured article (remember that Peter would not have allowed any criticism to appear in the newspaper)

Your group will then teach the class about the particular reform/event that you reported in your newspaper. All members of the group should take part in the presentation. In sharing your newspaper with the class, the group should try to cover as many of these points as possible: (1) the problem Peter wanted to solve; (2) Peter's intended solution to the problem; (3) popular reaction to the proposal (Among whom and why was it favorable? Among whom and why was it unfavorable?); (4) whether the measure brought about change or continued trends that already existed in Russia's history; (5) how historians today evaluate this measure.

4. THE FRONTIER IN RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN THOUGHT

Introduction:

The idea of the untamed wilderness holds a key place in the cultural mindset of both the American and Russian peoples, especially as each tries to articulate its confrontation with the frontier. The similarities and differences of both historical adventures have been discussed by many authorities, providing teachers with a variety of fertile issues for study and discussion at the *advanced* high school level. Because of the obvious pedagogic complexities, it is recommended that the activities be employed to *close* a unit on Russian history. In some cases, it may be advisable to team teach this set of activities with an American history colleague. The activities are especially appropriate for use in an Advanced Placement course.

Though many possibilities for inquiry exist, the activities will tend to stimulate several obvious questions: In spite of all the variables one might consider, do the Russians—especially today's "new Siberians"—share any of the characteristics of American frontiersmen? In what ways does the Siberian experience reflect "traditional" American perceptions of frontier life and values? Whatever the contrasts between the two social and political systems, did the Siberians tend to develop a "Turneresque" profile? If so, is this a recent development? How has political control been affected by distance from Moscow? Has it ever been reasonable to expect that ideological purity could be maintained in an isolated environment?

Of course, only a thorough scholarly investigation will show whether or not the famous "Turner thesis" has any validity when applied to larger historical and environmental circumstances in the Siberian past. Nonetheless, such a daunting enterprise need *not* be undertaken in order for high school students to enjoy a profitable classroom experience.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Identify the major theoretical components of the Turner thesis.

2. Compare and contrast the nature of the Russian and American "frontier" experiences.

3. Attempt a validation of the Turner thesis as applied to a Siberian "model."

4. Assess the relationship of geographic environment to the development and maintenance of a given subculture.

5. Become familiar with the history and geography of the former Soviet Union, especially the Siberian regions of Russia.

Materials and Preparation: Certain readings should be completed by students and teacher prior to the use of this material; students also need a rudimentary background in the history of the westward movement in the United States. Professor Frederick Jackson Turner offered his "frontier hypothesis" in an essay presented at the Chicago meeting of the American Historical Association in 1893. This so-called "Turner thesis" has been published in several well-known sources. The instructor might refer to Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier" in *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962; originally published in 1920); William McNeill, *The Rise of the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963); George Rogers Taylor, ed., *The Turner Thesis* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1956). Students should also be required to find appropriate sources on contemporary life in Siberia. For introductory purposes, portions of Farley Mowat's *The Siberians* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971) are recommended (e.g., "Irkutsk" and "Mirny").

Developed by Elizabeth A. Grady, Pilot School, Cambridge Ringe and Latin, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Robert A. Cole, Whitman-Hanson Regional High School, Whitman, Massachusetts.

The teacher should reproduce copies of the handouts provided with this activity.

Time Required: 5-6 class periods, with accompanying homework assignments.

Procedure:

1. Begin the class with a brief comparative lesson on geography of the United States and Russia; particular attention should be paid to Siberia. (Map exercises included in this volume would be helpful in this regard.)

2. After the geographic introduction, divide the class into small groups. Each will be tasked with developing a definition of *frontier.* After about 10 minutes of group work, conduct a general class discussion to construct a well-articulated definition of the term. Record the "consensus" definition on the chalkboard.

3. Re-form students' groups and ask them to share their insights regarding "places and times" that typify various models of American frontier life. Each group should be assigned to focus on one particular "frontier" in American history. To assist the groups, make a representative chart on the chalkboard for students to copy in their notebooks; for example:

Type	Location	Time
Northern Colonial	Mass. Bay Colony	1630s
Northern Colonial	Mohawk Valley	1750s
Southern Colonial	Virginia Tidewater	1670s
Southern Colonial	Georgia	1720s
Farming Frontier	Nebraska	1860s
Farming Frontier	Oregon	1850s
Cattle Frontier	Texas	1860s
Cattle Frontier	Wyoming	1880s
Mining Frontier	California	1850s
Mining Frontier	Nevada	1870s

After a brief discussion, each group should list natural, historical, and cultural factors descriptive of their regional frontier culture. You might assist by asking:

- What were the climate and topographical factors?
- What were the primary modes of economic life? ...cultural and religious expression?
- Was regional dress distinctive?
- What were the prevailing dangers?
- Was it slave or free?
- Was townlife an important consideration in regional development?
- What kind of literature, decorative arts, and craftsmanship did it tend to produce?
- What was the "ideal citizen" like on this frontier?
- What is the regional folklore like today?

Circulate among the groups as they work. You will serve as their "resource person." You might also give each group a U.S. history text with appropriate pages marked.

4. Conduct a general class discussion in which students compare regional and historical differences. Ask: What factors are associated with *all* of the various frontier experiences? Record student observations on the chalkboard.

5. At the beginning of the next class period, review the previous day's work, including the chart copied from the chalkboard.

6. Distribute Handouts 4-1, 4-2, and 4-3. Students should read the material and prepare written answers to the following questions:

1. What is *distinctive* about American frontier culture? How did it differ from the dominant culture at any given time?
2. What place do *you* think the frontier has in American national psychology?
3. What is the role of the cowboy in "popular culture"? How are the roles of cowboy and astronaut similar?
4. In what ways were the Cossacks and American pioneers similar? Different?

This reading and writing assignment can be completed as homework. Students can also start an optional map project. Each of the designated American "frontiers" can be located and labeled as to "time and place." It would be helpful if the students also began work on a second map, one that would require that they gain detailed knowledge of the natural and political geography of Russia and the newly independent states.

7. Begin the next class period by reviewing the main points of the previous day's lesson. When this is completed, the students should be confronted with the fundamental elements of the Turner thesis ("American settlement explains American development," the "safety valve" theory, etc.). A review of Handout 4-1 would best serve this purpose.

8. Ask the class to compare/contrast the groups' findings. Assign one student as a "recorder" to list the issues the class and teacher find most important in refining the definition of *frontier*. Ask:

- How would the settlement of the American West have been different had its general progression been west-to-east?
- How do you think the Russian experience would have changed had its general progression been east-to-west?

9. Distribute Handout 4-4. The remainder of this day's class time will be spent preparing the outline of an essay, the specific focus of which will be chosen by the student from the options described on the handout. Encourage students to address the following questions no matter which topic they choose:

- In general, how were the Cossack and American frontier experiences *similar* and *different*?
- Why didn't the frontier experience result in the growth of democratic institutions in Siberia?
- What was undemocratic about American frontier society in the North, West, South?

10. Begin the next class period by conducting a class discussion of the following questions:

- What was the traditional view of Siberia in tsarist times? Has that view changed substantially since the Revolutions of 1917? Since the advent of *glasnost* and *perestroika*? Since the break-up of the Soviet Union?
- How would you compare the "Siberian economic boom" to that of Alaska?
- Did any areas of the American frontier have a negative connotation to compare with "being sent to Siberia"?
- Why was there no serfdom in Siberia?
- What was Peter the Great's interest in Siberia (it was given the status of Province in 1710)?

- How do you think the existence of both the Ural and Appalachian Mountains affected the development of the Siberian and American frontiers?
- If you were a young "educated" Russian, what factors might influence you to move to Siberia? What would most discourage you from making such a move?

11. The following day, allow students to work on their assigned essays or enrichment projects.

Evaluation:

The essay can be used for evaluation purposes, as can the quiz provided on Handout 4-5. Provide atlases for use in completing the handout if students have not previously done map work, whether as part of this set of activities or earlier in the year. Answers are as follows: **1.** d; **2.** a; **3.** b, **4.** d; **5.** c; **6.** e; **7.** b; **8.** c; **9.** d; **10.** b; **11.** Cossacks—the 16th- and 17th-century Russian explorers of Siberia who led the way for greater settlement of Siberia; **12.** Steppe—prairie grassland of central Siberia, similar to the American Great Plains; **13.** Lake Baikal—located in southern Siberia; the surrounding land was the home of the Buryats, who resisted Russian settlement; it contains more fresh water than any other lake in the world and has species that exist nowhere else on earth; **14.** "Safety Valve"—in this case, a point of Turner's frontier thesis that stated that the existence of vast, unsettled territories provided a social and political safety valve where the disenchanted could go; **15.** Ermack—early (17th-century) Cossack adventurer who led the settlement of eastern Siberia.

Extension/Enrichment:

1. In order to examine both frontiers—Siberian and American—students could prepare a chart comparing "their" American frontier and frontier Russia at *the same time period*. Students should be advised that their work does not have to be "definitive," or even complete. Each group is to make its best estimates in order to generate forthcoming class discussion. The teacher should assume the role of resource person as students address an assortment of the following issues:

- Type of government
- Basic economic activities
- Resistance by indigenous peoples
- Role of railroads in settlement
- Role of rivers in settlement
- Evidence of the "safety valve"
- Impact of furtraders
- Impact of soldiers
- Impact of farmers
- Impact of merchants
- Importance of towns
- Evidence of frontier "types," factors, or subcultures
- Examples of "literary memory" and poetry
- "Security" issues and relative safety of "pioneers"
- Regional arts/music/handicrafts
- Folklore and ballads
- Influence of foreign powers
- Civil disruptions/revolutions

2. Ask students to prepare a dialogue between two close friends in today's Russia. One of the two wants to go to Siberia to live; the other is horrified at the thought of leaving St. Petersburg for the "frontier." In the dialogue students should give each of the participants a name and be sure to specifically address these topics of conversation:

- Freedom from bureaucrats
- The "frontier situation"
- Winter
- Higher wages and benefits
- Youth of settlers
- Cultural opportunities
- "Room to grow"
- Regional "traditions"

3. Discuss the following issue with the class. In 1908, Peter Stolypin told the Duma: "the land is a guarantee of our strength in the future...." On the subject of railroad building and industrial development in Siberia he went on to say: "If we remain plunged in our lethargic sleep, these lands will be running with foreign sap, and when we wake up, they will perhaps be Russian in name only." With this warning in mind, do you think the Russian government should encourage Western investment in Siberia's "development"? What should U.S. policy be regarding Japanese investment in our western lands and resources?

References:

There is no single history available in English of the expansion of Russians into Siberia and the way of life that developed there. To complete this exercise, students and teachers may find the following references useful:

Auty, Robert, and Dimitri Obolensky, eds., *Russian History* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977). Chapter 1, "The Geographical Setting," focuses on the growth and peopling of the Russian state and the location of economic activities; chapter 4 focuses upon 18th- and 19th-century expansion into Siberia, the rural population, governmental institutions, etc.

Billington, James, *The Icon and the Axe* (New York: Vintage, 1970).

Dmytryshyn, Basil, *A History of Russia* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1977). In Chapter IX, the author discusses Muscovy's expansion to the Caspian, the Azov and Black Seas, and the Pacific; in Chapter X, he discusses the land grants to frontier homesteaders.

Encyclopedia-Guide: USSR (Geneva: Nagel Publishers, 1985).

Lawrence, John, *A History of Russia* (New York: New American Library, 1978). This work touches on Cossack frontier life.

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Mowat, Farley, *The Siberians* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1970).

Newby, Eric, *The Big Red Train Ride: A Ride on the Trans Siberian Railway* (New York: Penguin, 1980).

Paxton, John, *Companion to Russian History* (New York: Facts on File, Inc. 1983).

Peoples of the Soviet Union (Moscow: Novosti Press, 1989).

Pipes, Richard, *Russia Under the Old Regime* (New York: Scribners, 1974).

Seaton, Albert, *The Horsemen of the Steppes: The Story of the Cossacks* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1985).

Sergeyev, M., *Irkutsk: A Guide* (Moscow: Raduga Publishers, 1986). The author provides a brief historical sketch.

Shipler, David K., *Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams* (New York: Penguin, 1984).

Turner, F.J., *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt, 1920).

Webb, Walter Prescott, *The Great Plains* (Boston: Ginn, 1931).

Teacher Background Information:

As one approaches the so-called "Turner Thesis" to explore its suitability for use in the secondary classroom, it is important to understand that Turner was neither "monocausal" nor deterministic in his work. In his later writings and in letters to friends and colleagues, he underscored his belief that there was no *single* explanation for the American historical experience. He never sought to provide a "Rosetta Stone" so that we could draw the complex patterns of American cultural development into a tidy synthesis. Rather, he hoped to call his students' attention to a facet of American life whose importance earlier generations had either underestimated or not understood.

Reflecting upon the relative impact of Turner's observations, the teacher should also be led to consider the political culture of the pre-revolutionary settlers. Many people of this formative era were conscious of their liberties as subjects of the Crown and well aware of their debt to the framers of the Petition of Right (1628) and the English Bill of Rights (1689).

TEN SALIENT POINTS OF THE TURNER ESSAY: "THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FRONTIER IN AMERICAN HISTORY"

1. In 1890 U.S. government officially announced the "closing of the frontier." Up to that time, there had been successive and somewhat varied "frontiers" in the American past.

2. To a large extent, American history is the history of the "colonizing" of the West. The Atlantic coast was a "European" frontier in most respects. Thus, it is the trans-Appalachian West, and not the Atlantic seaboard, that provides America with its own unique historical focal point.

3. As each frontier progresses in developmental stages toward "civilization," it will be *characterized* by factors relating to "place" and by the dominant economic activity (e.g., Rocky Mountain mining frontier, Mississippi Valley farming frontier).

4. More than anything else, the advance of settlement westward toward vast areas of free land explains American historical development. The existence of these territories also provided America with a social and political "safety valve," a place for the disenchanted to go, as well as those seeking a "fresh start" in the free environment of the wilderness.

5. The distinguishing features of American social and political institutions can be explained by the fact that they have had to adapt to the frontier experience. Frontier life encourages individualism and is *naturally* democratic. It cares nothing for lineage, "pedigree," or prior social standing.

6. The frontier itself is characterized by primitive conditions where social and political development must begin again. This continual process of "rebirth" has shaped the American "national character," and in doing so has made Americans *a new and distinct people*. The attributes of this national character as shaped by the frontier include such intellectual traits as inquisitiveness, inventiveness, practicality, and a capacity for problem-solving that life in the wilderness demands.

7. The frontier is a place where foreign immigrants can't help but be turned into "Americans." They must of necessity turn their backs on old ways of doing things if they are to survive and prosper.

8. The repeated process of coping with the frontier environment makes the frontier experience itself more and more "American" as the westward movement continues.

9. The frontier not only liberates people, it "Americanizes" them in spite of their ethnic backgrounds.

10. The frontier provides goods and markets for the American economy and thus has a "nationalizing" effect on the young republic.

"SEE YOU IN...SIBERIA!"

The so-called Russian Federation (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) stretched from the Baltic to the Pacific. It was the Soviet Union's largest republic. It has eleven time zones and is 1.7 times larger than Europe. Only something this big could contain Siberia! Three of the former Soviet Union's "autonomous republics" and eight "autonomous territories" were located in Siberia.

Siberia's size is intimidating, and both distance and isolation have been key factors in shaping local cultures. Like American Alaska, it is still very much a "developing" land. It was not until the early years of this century that the Trans-Siberian Railroad was completed; at that time the entire population of Siberia approximated that of New York City. In Soviet times, the Yakut ASSR in eastern Siberia had a population density of only 0.3 people per square kilometer.

As America's so-called "Manifest Destiny" experience unfolded, the western frontier, though often wild and lawless, was largely perceived as a place of real opportunity. The Russian view of Siberia has only recently taken on that image. In centuries past, the "East" was looked upon as a source of danger and a continuing threat to European Russia.

In the Russian consciousness, fear of invasion has loomed very large. For the most part, Siberia lacks natural borders. Thus, it has presented the Russians with a variety of military problems over the years. Eventually, it helped to shape a Russian political culture in which *security* was considered of utmost importance. In its turn, Siberia became a place of escape from the excesses of "autocracy." It also came to be a place of imprisonment and exile: in the 18th century, deportation became an important feature of Siberian life. In our century, the Stalin years saw the creation of the infamous labor camp system known as the Gulag Archipelago, thus furnishing many people with an indelible image of Siberia that is only partially valid.

Siberia is divided into four separate regions: (1) the Ural Mountains, (2) the Western Siberian Lowlands, (3) the Central Siberian Plateau, and (4) the Pacific Region. Its Ob and Irtysh river system ranks among the world's greatest. The Yenisei and Lena are two more of Siberia's mighty rivers. Like most of the others, they flow northward to the Arctic and are frozen over for as much as nine months a year. The Amur is another large Siberian river. Its course is a bit unusual for Siberia, in that it flows eastward to the Pacific.

The Ural Mountains run more than 1,500 miles southward from the Arctic Ocean, separating European Russia from Siberia. They are not terribly high mountains and have never been much of a barrier to people moving east. Many areas of the mountain range are heavily forested. They are rich in minerals such as iron, gold, copper, platinum, manganese, and nickel; these resources have much to do with the future prosperity of Russia.

Huge areas of bogs (the so-called *Urmany*) can be found in the Western Siberian Lowlands; thus, the best route for going beyond the Urals in the early years of exploration and settlement was in the south, in the region where the mountains and forest meet the prairie grasslands known as the *steppes*. In 1897, Lenin himself couldn't help but feel a bit diminished by what he saw:

> The landscape along the road through western Siberia which I have travelled from end to end...[is] extraordinarily featureless: a bare and empty steppe, snow and sky...Not a house, not a town, an occasional village, sometimes a stretch of forest but mostly steppe.

The Siberian steppe reaches out eastward beyond Lake Baikal in the direction of the Amur River. Here an east-west line of towns grew up under the prodding of geography, for many of them were built where the forest merges into the flatlands. Something like this happened along the 100th meridian in America. This is the line of longitude marking the eastern boundary of the high plains, a region so forbidding in its vastness that it was described on 19th-century maps as "The Great American Desert."

Contrary to popular belief, Siberia's climates range from extreme Arctic cold to the rather temperate. Novosibirsk, for example, has the same average summer climate as Paris: 18° C (about 70° F) in July. On the other hand, the average winter temperature in Irkutsk is near -25° C (about -15° F). In the Siberian Arctic, the temperature can drop as far as -40° or -50° C. That's more than -40° F!

Russian pioneers began making their way beyond the Urals in the late 16th century. The 1581 expedition of the Cossack Ataman Ermack typifies these early adventurers. He conquered the Siberian Khanate, a Tatar state in western Siberia, and annexed it to Muscovy in the following year. More outsiders soon made their way into Siberia, pushing continuously eastward. Today, a log hut of the first Cossacks to explore the Bratsk area in 1631 is still preserved for historical interest and an increasing number of tourists.

In the first half of the 17th century, colonization reached beyond the Yenisei. A fundamental desire of the Russians was to exact tribute from the native Siberians. Many of the local peoples submitted with hardly a struggle, but some—like the Buryats who lived around Lake Baikal—fought tenaciously. Russian forts in the region were attacked by these descendants of the Mongols, and armed resistance lasted until the end of the century. Later Russian military expeditions founded a series of forts that one day grew into the towns of Omsk, Tomsk, Krasnoyarsk, and Irkutsk. At about the time Puritan colonists settled Boston, Russians had reached Yakutsk (1632) and moved on to the Pacific shore.

A variety of indigenous people live in Siberia today. Many have kept traditional customs and handicrafts alive, from the bone-carvings of the Chukchi to the birch-bark artifacts of the Khanti. Many retain traditional dress, and the old livelihoods from reindeer breeding to fur trapping. Most of the native peoples, however, have adapted to new Siberian economic realities, which center on mining and energy production, huge transportation projects such as the 3,200-kilometer Baikal-Amur railroad, advanced timber harvesting, and an increasing concentration on agriculture.

THE COSSACKS

Many people are interested in the Cossacks, but most are decidedly unsure about the origins of these fascinating people. Among the more famous Cossacks of this century is Mikhail Aleksandrovich Sholokhov, the author of *Quiet Flows the Don.* This novel is a good introduction to Cossack life and values. It sets the love story of Grigory and Aksinya against the dramatic historical backdrop of the Bolshevik Revolution. Sholokhov's descriptions of the Don Valley are lyrical, his Cossack characters complex and interesting. The intensity of the battle scenes is unsurpassed by any modern writer. Another valuable literary source is Nikolai Gogol's early 19th-century novel of the Ukrainian Cossacks, *Taras Bulba.*

The Russian word for *cossack* is probably of Turkic extraction; in the beginning it meant something like "adventurer." These co-called *kazaki* lived in the frontier areas between the Russians and their Turkic neighbors to the south and east.

The first European Cossacks were people who had fled the oppressive policies of Muscovy, Poland, and Lithuania. By the 16th century, they had established themselves in the valleys of the Dnieper and Don Rivers. They lived in *stanitsa*, villages in which the land was held in common. Later generations of Cossacks moved to the valleys of the Volga and Kuban, and even to the far distant Amur and Ussuri Rivers.

From the Cossack point of view, theirs was a rough but good life. They placed great value on their freedom, jealously guarding their independence, while keeping a close eye on "outsiders." To protect themselves, the Cossacks organized their communities along military lines, electing officers from among the most capable men. These leaders bore a variety of titles—*ataman, sotnik*, and *esaul.*

Like the Indians and cowboys of the American Plains, the Cossacks became accomplished horsemen. They also developed a reputation as fearless warriors. They resented the intrusions of non-Cossack influences and, from time to time, did not hesitate to attack Moscovy's fringe settlements. Before long, however, increasing numbers of Cossacks were "hired out" by their more established foes to serve as elite guards. When this pattern of service became common in the early Tsarist period, many Russians came to resent the Cossacks' new, and somewhat privileged, status.

Eventually the Cossacks were brought under the formal control of the Russian state. Under leaders such as Ermack, they played an important part in Russia's conquest of Siberia and the Tatar lands. Cossack restlessness persisted throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, however, with many taking part in the notable peasant uprisings of those centuries (Bolotnikov, Razin, Pugachev, etc.). As time passed, their independence was almost completely eroded, and many Cossack units were fully integrated into the Russian imperial army.

For a young Cossack man, compulsory service in the tsar's army began at age 18 and lasted for 20 years. Ironically, in this function, the Cossacks were often employed to put down revolutionary movements whose followers wanted nothing more than to free themselves of excesses of tsarist authority.

Upon the advent of the Communist Revolution, Cossacks took an active part in the Civil War. They fought on both sides, and more than 30,000 of them emigrated with the remnant of the defeated White forces. During World War II, some Cossacks, in their hatred of the Stalinist regime, crossed over to serve in the German *Wehrmacht.* Many more, however, distinguished themselves in the campaigns of the Soviet armed forces.

AN ESSAY ON THE TURNER THESIS

Write an essay on one of the following topics:

- Explain one point of the Turner thesis with which you either agree or disagree. Give a sound defense of your judgment.
- Down to the present day, how do you account for the similarities and differences in the development of Siberia and the "American West"?
- In the light of the Turner thesis, what impact did "outside influences" (such as the Magna Carta, Mayflower Compact, English Bill of Rights, etc.) have on the development of American democracy? What impact, if any, did outside influences have on the tsarist government of Russia?

FRONTIER QUIZ

1. The U.S. government officially announced the closing of the frontier in what year?

   a. 1936
   b. 1798
   c. 1861
   d. 1890
   e. 1971

2. Who are Siberian peoples such as the Buryats descended from?

   a. Mongols
   b. Tsars
   c. Cossacks
   d. Eskimos
   e. Ukrainians

3. A fundamental goal of early Russian advances into Siberia was to

   a. defeat the Turks
   b. exact tribute from local peoples
   c. colonize the Pacific regions
   d. build factories
   e. all of these

4. In most respects, F.J. Turner believed the Atlantic coast colonial frontiers were more

   a. dangerous than those of the Far West
   b. of a mistake than practical results seemed to show
   c. northern than southern
   d. "European" than American
   e. influential than the American Revolution

5. Ob, Lena, and Yenisei are Siberian

   a. towns
   b. mountains
   c. rivers
   d. pioneers
   e. none of these

6. How many time zones does the Russian Federation contain?

   a. 3
   b. 4
   c. 7
   d. 9
   e. 11

7. What mountain range separates Europe from Asia?

   a. Carpathians
   b. Urals
   c. Siberian Alps
   d. Jura
   e. Tetons

8. On many 19th-century maps, what area was labeled "The Great American Desert"?

   a. Alaska
   b. Mojave
   c. the Great Plains
   d. the Deep South
   e. the Rockies

9. What Soviet individual was most responsible for creating the "Gulag Archipelago"?

   a. Lenin
   b. Tsar Peter
   c. Boris Andreyevich Pilnyak
   d. Stalin
   e. Nikita Khrushchev

10. Which of the following is not considered one of the four main regions of Siberia?

    a. Western Siberian Lowlands
    b. Crimean Peninsula
    c. Pacific Region
    d. Central Siberian Plateau

Identify the following terms, explaining something of their historical significance:

11. Mikhail Sholokhov

12. Steppe

13. Lake Baikal

14. "Safety Valve"

15. Ermack

III. LITERATURE OF THE IMPERIAL PERIOD OF RUSSIAN HISTORY

The activities in this section and the final section of the collection familiarize high school students with some famous Russian authors and their works. The authors represented are Turgenev, Gogol, Chekhov, Tolstoy, Babel, and Solzhenitsyn. The works are widely available in anthologies. Teachers may want to discuss the art of translation or have students compare different translations. They do need to be alert to the fact that Russian technical terms may be translated differently by different translators.

Most of the lessons extend over three days. On the first day the reading is assigned; this only takes a moment unless the teacher wishes to allow some in-class reading time. The second day should be entirely devoted to teacher or student presentations and discussion. The third day is for evaluation.

The material can be as teacher-centered or as student-centered as the teacher desires or as the students' level dictates. Historical and biographical information can be presented in lectures or assigned as student presentations. A brief biography of each author appears with the unit. For further background on the authors and their times, see Victor Terras, ed., *Handbook of Russian Literature* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).

A number of techniques of literary criticism have been used. Usually, the work is examined as an example of its genre or as to how it presents a particular social milieu. In other cases, nothing outside the story is considered, and discussion centers entirely on the characters' actions and motivations. The teacher using this unit will have his or her own favorite technique of analyzing a work of literature and may want to approach the story from a different perspective than the one used here.

5. TURGENEV'S FATHERS AND SONS

Introduction:

Ivan Sergeivich Turgenev published the novel for which he is best known today, *Fathers and Children* (often also translated as *Fathers and Sons*), in 1862. In it he portrayed the conflict of views between two generations, as well as the conflict within the generations, characteristic of Russian society of his time. The novel caused great controversy: The radicals thought that the character of Bazarov was a caricature; the conservatives thought that Turgenev had been too sympathetic to the radicals. In fact, some young people later took Bazarov as their hero and consciously modeled themselves on him, calling themselves *nihilists*.

For a class of very good readers, the entire short novel could be assigned. The chapter selected here stands on its own, however, and can be used as suggested in the activity.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Define *nihilism*.

2. Describe the philosophical differences that existed between the older and younger generations in Russia in the 1860s.

3. Explore some of life's philosophical problems: should we be governed by science or by religion, by reason or by emotion, by traditional values or by some definition of morality?

Materials and Preparation: You will need copies of *Fathers and Sons* for the class. You may also want copies of Handouts 5-1 and 5-2. Several days before the lesson begins, select students to prepare presentations on the subject matter. If students do a presentation, they should be exempted from the test or given extra credit. Some suggestions for the student presentations are:

1. Give a report on the life and work of Turgenev.

2. Describe what was happening in Russian history between 1855 and 1880.

3. Read the first nine chapters of the book and tell the class what led to the events in Chapter X.

4. Read and tell the class about the rest of the book.

5. With three other students, prepare a debate about who had the better ideas, Bazarov or Pavel Kirsanov.

6. Define *nihilism* and tell how it related to the thesis, synthesis, and antithesis ideas of Hegel. Explain how it relates to the theories of Karl Marx.

7. Draw a diagram of the buildings on the Kirsanov estate. Include the main house, garden, guest house, shop, stables, etc.

Time Required: 15 minutes the first day, all period the next day, and another 15 minutes the third day. Another day may be added if student presentations take longer.

Activity developed by Richard Lewis Carter, Highline High School, Seattle, Washington.

Procedure:

1. On the first day, hand out the books and give a synopsis of the story to that point. Assign Chapter X as homework.

2. Devote the second day entirely to discussion and student presentations. Use the following questions to stimulate discussion.

- What were Pavel Kirsanov and Bazarov arguing about? (Traditional customs and morals as opposed to a way of life based on scientific principles.)
- What was Nikolai's role in the argument? (He tried to be an arbiter and peacemaker.)
- What might Arkady have been thinking and feeling during the argument? (He took Bazarov's side, but out of kindness and love for his uncle, he couldn't say much.)
- What was the basic idea of nihilism? (People should live by reason instead of emotion. The old society—the government, church, and other institutions—should be destroyed so people could build a new and better society based on science and rational principles.)
- Have you ever felt like denying everything?

Evaluation:

The quiz provided on Handout 5-2 can be used to evaluate student learning. The correct answers are: **1.** T; **2.** F; **3.** T; **4.** F; **5.** T; **6.** F; **7.** T; **8.** F; **9.**T; **10.** F; **11.** Pavel was more of a traditionalist. He argued in favor of the value of the nobility and maintaining one's pride and dignity; he believed traditional values were more important than scientific advancement. Nikolai, on the other hand, recognized that he and Pavel were from an old-fashioned generation. He said near the end of Chapter X that he and Nikolai had to "swallow the pill," meaning that they had to accept the fact that a new generation was going to create a new world. **12.** The major change was that Alexander II freed the serfs. They no longer could be bought and sold like cattle. Also, if they wanted to leave the estates of the people who had owned them, they had that right. This occurred in 1861.

IVAN TURGENEV
1818-1883

Ivan Sergeivich Turgenev was born in Orel, Russia, into a wealthy, landowning family. His father had retired from the army with the rank of colonel.

Turgenev was over six foot three inches tall and had an athletic build and a thin voice.

He studied at universities in Moscow, St. Petersburg, and Berlin. At the University of St. Petersburg, he was nicknamed "The American" for his democratic views. During the 30 years that he was a writer, he traveled and lived in France, Germany, and the British Isles.

Turgenev was a strong promoter of realism in writing and was the first to reveal everyday Russian life to the Western world. Although he was noted as a Westernizer and a humanitarian, he acted more as an observer than as an advocate of causes. One of his must successful works, *Notes of a Hunter* (1852), is a series of sketches of rural life in the time of serfdom. It has been called the Russian *Uncle Tom's Cabin* because of the way in which it presented the injustice of serfdom.

His work differed from that of other writers of the time. Instead of Gogol's "fantasy of the grotesque" or Tolstoy's plain language, he developed what has been described as "elegantly selective language and a narrative art as delicate as watercolors." In all his works, Turgenev showed that he could tell a fascinating story and make his characters convincing and alive.

Through his realism and conception of a work of art as an "orderly arrangement of emotional shadings," he proved to be among the most important European writers of the 19th century. He died of cancer of the spine on September 3, 1883, in Bougival, France.

TURGENEV QUIZ

Indicate whether the statements below are true (T) or false (F).

1. _____ Arkady supported Bazarov's arguments.
2. _____ Bazarov loved to read the works of Pushkin.
3. _____ Pavel thought that maintaining his dignity was more important than having great knowledge.
4. _____ Bazarov was a romantic idealist.
5. _____ Bazarov favored the collapse of all governments.
6. _____ Bazarov thought that his ideals were worth fighting and dying for.
7. _____ Pavel thought that a strong country started with strong family ties.
8. _____ Nikolai disagreed with both Pavel and Bazarov.
9. _____ Bazarov was proud to be a Russian.
10. _____ Pavel agreed with Bazarov that the aristocracy should be exiled from Russia.
11. Who was more of a traditionalist, Nikolai or Pavel? Explain your answer and give examples.

12. What major change took place in the lives of the Russian peasants during Turgenev's lifetime? Who was the tsar? What did he have to do with the change in the peasants' lives?

6. GOGOL'S "THE NOSE"

Introduction:

Nikolai Gogol, who lived from 1809 to 1852, is remembered as one of Russia's great writers. His short stories are universally admired, but they strike a special chord among high school students. Perhaps this appeal stems from the combination of absurdity and pathos the stories offer the reader.

Gogol wrote about human qualities and situations that are familiar to adolescents, but placed them in an exotic or fantastic setting. Both of Gogol's stories for which activities are offered in this volume (see Activity 7) also provide detailed information about the hierarchical nature of 19th-century Russian society.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Understand that a sense of humor is universal and that Russians can be as silly and ridiculous as anyone else.

2. Describe how a writer can portray a totally absurd occurrence and can have us believing in it, even while we laugh at how funny it is.

3. Identify how the small details of a story inform us of broader issues, such as popular attitudes and lifestyles of the time.

Materials and Preparation: Each student will need a copy of the story. You may also want copies of Handouts 6-1 and 6-2. Handouts 7-1 and 7-2 may also prove useful here. Several class days before the lesson is assigned, students can be selected to do projects related to the "The Nose." One student might list the works of Gogol and show where "The Nose" fits into the sequence; another student could research what the Russian people were reading in this era and describe their reactions to this story; still another student could research the events of Gogol's life.

Time Required: 2-3 class periods.

Procedure:

1. On the first day, all that needs to be done is to assign the reading of the story.

2. On the next day, allow time for the student presentations.

3. Conduct a class discussion of the following questions:
   - Who are the main characters in "The Nose"? (Ivan Yakovlevich, Major Kovalev, Mrs. Chekhtareva, Mrs. Podtochina, and the Nose.)
   - Is there a symbolic meaning to the story? Could the nose have represented something such as a social relationship, a self-conception, a personal fault? Could the disappearance of the nose represent a person's lack of control over his/her own life? (The reader can make the nose stand for whatever he/she wants, as long as evidence for the interpretation can be found. Note that Gogol was a very short man with a beaked nose, long black hair, and a small mustache.)

Activity developed by Richard Lewis Carter, Highline High School, Seattle, Washington.

- When we read this story, what do we learn about life in Russia in the 1830s? (There was a well-defined social structure, with people mostly being either very rich or very poor. Personal prestige was important, especially if you wanted to better yourself socially as Major Kovalev did. Gossip and scandal went on then as much as now.)
- What are some of the literary devices that Gogol uses in this story? (Trivia lists—such as items for sale in the want ads. Unresolved events that fade into fog or darkness. Grotesque people and events.)
- What makes a good story? Which of the following things are found in this story—mystery, suspense, humor, reader identification with the characters, a good beginning, middle, and end?

Evaluation:

The quiz provided on Handout 6-2 can be used to evaluate student learning. The correct answers are: **1.** T; **2.** F; **3.** F; **4.** F; **5.** T; **6.** F; **7.** T; **8.** T; **9.** F; **10.** T; **11.** Ivan Yakovlevich was Major Kovalev's barber. Ivan was the first one to find the nose when it disappeared from the face of Major Kovalev. At the end of the story, he again came to shave the major and confirmed that the nose was really back in place; **12.** Gogol could have been making fun of physical shortcomings of all kinds. He himself was a short man; he might have been as self-conscious about that as Major Kovalev was about not having a nose.

NIKOLAI GOGOL
1809-1852

Nikolai Gogol was born in the small town of Sorochinsty in the Ukraine. His father was an estate-holder who earned a meager living from his land. Nikolai began writing plays and was noted as a mimic when he was still in grammar school. In 1828 he moved to St. Petersburg, now Leningrad, where he entered the civil service. He made friends with members of the "literary aristocracy," who helped him get his first story published. They also helped him get a job as a history teacher. His two-volume manuscript of *Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka*, a compilation of Ukrainian folk tales, became an immediate success upon publication. During these years he also developed an active social conscience. He was soon regarded as a "free thinker" of some notoriety.

The late 1830s and early 1840s were the most productive period of Gogol's life. During this time he wrote *Taras Bulba*, *Memories of a Madman*, "The Nose," and "The Overcoat." His comic play, *The Inspector General*, received enthusiastic praise. In 1842 he moved to Rome, where he finished his most famous novel, *Dead Souls*. This was the end of his career as a published author. For the next ten years, he wrote and rewrote a sequel to *Dead Souls*; unfortunately, he burned the manuscript a few days before his death in February 1852 because he felt it was the work of the devil.

"THE NOSE" QUIZ

Indicate whether the statements below are true (T) or false (F).

1. _____ Ivan Yakovlevich had a bun for breakfast.
2. _____ Ivan's wife gave him lots to eat.
3. _____ Ivan put the nose in a box in his bedroom.
4. _____ Major Kovalev lost his nose at the theater.
5. _____ He next saw his nose wearing a gold-braided uniform.
6. _____ Kovalev's ad in the newspaper ran three times.
7. _____ The police found the nose.
8. _____ The nose became famous.
9. _____ Major Kovalev adjusted easily to living without a nose.
10. _____ At the end of the story, Major Kovalev was happier than ever.
11. What was the relationship between Ivan Yakovlevich and Major Kovalev?

12. What in Gogol's life might have inspired him to write such a story?

7. GOGOL'S "THE OVERCOAT"

Introduction:

This activity on Gogol's short story, "The Overcoat" (1846), has been used in a literature class, but can also be used in social studies. The story is rich in information about mid-19th-century Russian society and contains Gogol's characteristic mix of the fantastic and the real, infused with his profound understanding of the human condition. Care has been taken to include materials appropriate for students of varying ability levels. Teachers may choose the exercises that best suit their needs; the exercises are intended to develop vocabulary, interpretation, writing skills, and awareness of another culture.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Describe the Russian patronymic.

2. Describe the life and times of Nikolai Gogol.

3. Interpret a short story.

4. Understand and appreciate certain aspects of the culture and history of Russia, notably the importance of social distinctions and rank.

Materials and Preparation: The activities in this unit are keyed to the Signet Classic version (1960) of Nikolai Gogol, *The Diary of a Madman and Other Stories*. Copies of the story can be found in many other anthologies. You will need to decide which of the handouts provided with the activity you wish to use.

Time Required: The story is about 30 pages long. The activity will require 1 week, which includes 2 or 3 class periods devoted completely to the activity; as much as three weeks can be devoted to the unit if the enrichment activities are used.

Procedure:

1. Discuss the life and concerns of Gogol and the historical period in which "The Overcoat" was written. Handouts 7-1 and 7-2 provide this information if you prefer to have students read it for themselves. If students have read any of the works of Charles Dickens, they might compare the lives of the poor in the two countries. Be sure the following points are clear to students: (1) Gogol was born into the petty gentry, (2) Gogol was once a government clerk in St. Petersburg like the main character, and (3) Gogol was a religious man who believed that not only God but the Devil and demons were at work in a person's everyday life. Explain that while Gogol is called the "Father of Modern Russian Realism," he was also the product of the Romantic Period. It is also important that the Russian hierarchy of government officials established by Peter I be understood so that students understand the significance of ninth-class clerks or important personages or other civil-service categories. The history of St. Petersburg ties in with the story's setting. The autocratic rule and censorship of Tsar Nicholas I and the carefully guarded opposition of the *intelligentsia* should also be stressed.

2. Distribute Handout 7-3 and go over it with the class. Have students generate their own patronymics.

Activity developed by Linda L. Rawlins, Madison High School, Adrian, Michigan.

3. Give students Handout 7-4 to guide their reading. Allow two or three nights for the students to read the story, depending on their reading level. Students may also be asked to complete Handout 7-5, if the teacher wishes to emphasize vocabulary building. For your convenience, answer keys are provided below.

Handout 7-4 Answer Key:

1. c; **2.** c; **3.** c; **4.** a; **5.** b; **6.** c; **7.** a; **8.** b.

Handout 7-5 Answer Key:

1. caste—any rigid system of social distinction
2. imperiled—endangered
3. despotic—oppressive; arbitrary
4. vulgarity—coarseness; lacking in manners or good taste
5. frock coat—a man's close-fitting coat, usually double-breasted, extending to about the knees
6. rubles—silver coins of Russia, each equal to 100 kopeks
7. mete, mete out—distribute; allot
8. indiscriminately—without favor of or against any person or thing
9. vestibule—the passage or hall between the outer door and the interior parts of a house or building; important in keeping out cold in winter
10. gauze—any thin transparent fabric
11. disintegrated—reduced to particles or fragments
12. butt—a person or thing that is an object of ridicule, sarcasm, or contempt
13. serf—Russian term for a person who is bound to the landlord's estate and prohibited from moving
14. slops—the dirty water, liquid, refuse, dirt, etc. of a household
15. Turkish pasha—civil or military official of high rank in Turkish dominions
16. kopeks—Russian copper coins each worth 1/100 of a ruble
17. intractable—stubborn; hard to deal with
18. libations—pouring out of wine or other liquid in honor of a deity
19. exorbitant—unreasonable; exceeding the bounds of custom in pricing
20. vacillation—wavering in mind or opinion; indecision
21. marten—slender fur-bearing animal
22. brazier—metal receptacle for holding charcoal or other fuel for heating
23. halberd—a shafted weapon with an axlike cutting blade, beak, and apical spike
24. aloof—reserved; unsympathetic; detached
25. monosyllabic—having a vocabulary composed exclusively of monosyllables (words of only one syllable, as yes and no)
26. unpropitious—unfavorable
27. intercede—act in behalf of
28. insubordination—disobedience; lack of respect for authority
29. reprimand—a severe reproof (scolding), especially a formal one by a person in authority
30. poultice—a soft, moist mass of bread, meal, herbs, etc., applied as a medicament to the body
31. kaput—ruined; done for (dead)
32. patronymic—(of names) derived from the name of a father or ancestor, especially by the addition of a suffix or prefix

4. Conduct a classroom discussion based on Handout 7-4; if students are able readers, go directly to discussion based on Handout 7-6. For your convenience, an answer key is provided below:

Handout 7-6 Answer Key:

1. Man's inhumanity to man is often disguised by refined manners and fine clothes.
2. Akaky was received with contempt, ridicule, and insults by his coworkers. He was seen off without acknowledgement. It was three days after the fact that his coworkers knew about his death.
3. Akaky Akakeivich believed that his existence became "more complete" as a result of possessing the new overcoat. He felt livelier, bold and audacious; he became firmer in character.
4. The "important personage" felt "regret" after Akaky Akakeivich left his office. He seemed to express a variety of feelings after learning of Akaky's death, the strongest of which were guilt and remose.
5. Justice is served when Akaky's ghost appears to the "important personage" and steals his overcoat. The official's lack of compassion and callousness toward Akaky returned to haunt him.
6. Answers to this question will vary.

Evaluation:

The quiz on Handout 7-7 can be used to evaluate student learning. The correct answers are: **1.** c; **2.** a; **3.** b; **4.** b; **5.** a; **6.** a; **7.** d; **8.** c; **9.** b; **10.** b; **11.** c; **12.** d; **13.** b; **14.** answers will vary.

Enrichment/Extension:

1. Explain that we learn about the characters in a story in many ways. We learn about them through what the author tells us about them, what other characters tell us about them, and what the character tells us through his/her actions or words. Gogol uses dialogue sparingly in "The Overcoat," but he uses it to define the personalities of his characters.

Tell students to study the dialogue of the humble Akaky Akakievich below; then rewrite it as if spoken by a confident Akaky.

> Well, it's like this, Petrovich...my cloak, well, the material...look, you can see, everywhere else it's very strong, well, it's a bit dusty and looks rather shabby, but it's not really...look, it's just in one piece it's a little...on the back here, and here, too...it's a little worn...and here on this shoulder, too, a little—and that's all. There's not much work...

2. Ask students if they have ever known anyone who wanted anything as much as Akaky desired the new overcoat. Assign students to create and write a short story about desire. The desire could be for a material possession, acceptance, or a special relationship. Encourage students to include details to make their descriptions believable.

3. Assign students to write essays addressing one of the following questions:

- If Akaky Akekievich had never lost the overcoat, would his personality have changed because of his new acceptance?
- Draw parallels between the lives and writings of Nikolai Gogol and Edgar Allan Poe.
- In the story, the young man muses about "the wickedness of man toward man and all the cruelty and vulgarity which are concealed under refined manners. And this, he decided, was also true of men who were considered upright and honorable." Do you agree with the young man's assessment of humanity? What does he mean by these statements?
- Gogol portrays the government of Imperial Russia as inefficient and cruelly aloof in "The Overcoat." Compare Imperial Russia to the Soviet Union today. What has been reformed? What concerns still exist?
- Why do you think Gogol chose the supernatural ending he used? Could justice have been served in an earthly way?

- What is it about Akaky that sets him apart from the people around him? Have you ever felt "different" from everyone else? If so, give an example.

4. Students may want to complete the crossword puzzle provided on Handout 7-8.

Handout 7-8 Answer Key:

ANSWERS: NIKOLAI GOGOL

```
        MIRGOROD
           E E
           A V
 G         L I     P
KOPEKS     I L   BUTT
 G         S       S S
ROMANTICISM S      H A
 L         U  E I  K R
   P      PATRONYMIC
THREADBARE  F S  N O
   T       R    P C  V
   E       N FIREPLACE
 UKRAINE A     C E  R
   S       T    T R  C
 RUBLES BULBA O K  O
   U       R    R  S A
   R    AKAKY    GHOST
   G       L       U
                    L
          MATERIALISM
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Teacher Background Information:

There are several themes in "The Overcoat." They include the following:

Materialism—In an age of "I'm just a material girl...," it is challenging to pursue a theme about the dangers of materialism.

Man's inhumanity to man—Teenagers can readily identify with callous tauntings or indifference from others. Explore the feelings of the young man (new clerk).

Oppression—Explore the theme of government oppression. Discuss workers who barely make a living. Look at this theme historically (Marxism) and in light of current world affairs.

Satanic subtext—Some students may notice the many Satanic allusions or symbols. Point out that Gogol doesn't glorify Satan but accepts the existence of Satanic temptations in daily living.

NIKOLAI VASILIEVICH GOGOL
1809-1852

Nikolai Vasilievich Gogol was born on March 20, 1809, in Sorochintsy in the Ukraine. He grew up on the family estate of Vasilievka. Vasilievka was a medium-sized estate. The family, while not wealthy, were members of the petty gentry. Gogol's father, who wrote verse for the Ukrainian puppet theater, died when his son was 16. Gogol's mother was subject to violent emotional outbursts.

Young Gogol earned a diploma after eight years of boarding school in the Ukrainian town of Nezhin. He read works of German Romanticism and 18th-century Russian poetry. Although Gogol did not excel as a scholar, he did make a mark for himself as an actor while still in school, especially in comic roles.

At 19, Gogol went to St. Petersburg (now Leningrad) to seek his destiny. Gogol believed his destiny was to be a great one and that God had a mission for him. When he failed to find fame as an actor, he explored other paths to greatness and glory. Gogol was also a government clerk and a history teacher. He did not distinguish himself in either career.

His first published attempt as a writer, *Hans Kuchelgarten* (1829), was not a success. His first collection of stories, *Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka* (1831), with their elements of lyricism, comedy, tragedy, and demonology, provided his first taste of fame. These stories brought him to the attention of Russian readers and the great poet and writer, Alexander Pushkin. In May 1831, Gogol met Pushkin, who encouraged him to pursue his destiny through writing. The two writers became friends.

Gogol's next important works, *Mirgorod* (about his native Ukraine) and *Arabesques* (about the meaning of art), appeared in 1835. In 1836 he wrote *Taras Bulba*, a story about the past glories of the Cossacks of the Ukraine. That year he also wrote *The Inspector General*, which is considered by some to be the greatest Russian play. This play was a satire about bad government; its funny characters and situations have made it popular even today. Even though the production of a play so critical of poor government was approved by Tsar Nicholas I, it received so much criticism and stirred up so much controversy that Gogol felt it was necessary to leave the country.

From 1836 to 1848, Gogol lived abroad, mainly in Rome, returning only for brief visits. He produced his great novel, *Dead Souls*, and "The Overcoat" in 1842 when he was 33.

Gogol's creative genius failed him during his last decade. His manuscript for the second volume of *Dead Souls* disappointed him, so he destroyed his early draft in 1845 and started over. This part of Gogol's life was marked by contradictions and spiritual crises. He had been considered a liberal, dedicated to the exposure of the evils of the old regime—a champion of the "underdog." Yet in 1847, he published *Selected Passages from a Correspondence with Friends*, which was a collection of 32 articles in defense of the aristocracy. This reversal of his liberal beliefs lost him even his most loyal supporters.

In 1848, Gogol went on a pilgrimage to Palestine. He felt he had lost God's favor. During this troubled time, Gogol went to Moscow, where he fell under the spiritual sway of Father Matevoy Konstantinovsky. This priest undertook to purify Gogol and to exorcise the demons interfering with his creative talents. Gogol felt that God had given him great literary talent not only to point out the abuses of the system but also to show Russia the righteous way of living.

With this philosophy in mind, Gogol reviewed the characters of his rewritten, second volume of *Dead Souls*. He found that the evil characters were well-developed while the characters representing righteousness and good were shallow and ill-defined. He felt the manuscript was a joke played on him by the devil; in a deep state of depression, he burned the manuscript. Gogol died of starvation just ten days later, on February 21, 1852, as a result of extreme fasting followed later by a total refusal of any food. Gogol had made his final sacrifice.

GOGOL'S RUSSIA

Gogol's Russia was far different from what most Americans call Russia today. The powerful nation that they are referring to is the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), or Soviet Union. This nation includes 15 Union Republics and a great many peoples, including the Russians. Since the largest republic and the most dominant ethnic group is the Great Russian, many Americans inappropriately use this generalized term to refer to the whole country. The Soviet Union replaced Gogol's Imperial Russia after the Revolution of 1917 (the name was officially changed in 1922).

At the beginning of the 18th century, Tsar Peter I, also known as Peter the Great (tsar and tsarina are titles like king and queen), set out to expand, modernize, and Westernize Russia. To attain these goals, Peter's reign was one of constant war and reorganization. Peter reorganized the military; established a "Table of Ranks," or hierarchy, of government officials (where promotion was supposed to be based primarily on ability); opened schools; and ordered a new capital to be built as a "Window on the West." This new capital, St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), was built in European style on the shore of the Baltic Sea at the mouth of the Neva River by the forced labor of thousands of serfs. About 30,000 serfs died from disease and hardship during construction. As a result, St. Petersburg is sometimes called the "city built on bones." Peter's capital, like most of his reforms, was controversial, and the debate over these reforms and their significance for Russian history continues today in the era of *glasnost*.

Peter died in 1725. Following his death were 37 years of relatively ineffective leadership during which the gentry gained land and privileges. State service by the gentry became voluntary and with the expectation of reward. The next able ruler was Catherine the Great, who ruled for 34 years, from 1762 to 1796.

Catherine restored governmental stability, expanded the empire, imported Western technology, and encouraged the spread of the ideas of the European enlightenment. She was fond of Western ideas of freedom and reform, but a peasant revolt convinced her that Russia needed firm rule, not reform. She had, however, hired French tutors for her grandsons; through them, the ideas of freedom and constitutional monarchy lived on. After Catherine's death, her son, Paul, ruled briefly, until his assassination in 1801. Paul was replaced by his son, Alexander I.

The young Tsar Alexander I seemed committed to reform. In fact, in 1809 (the year of Gogol's birth), he asked his minister to draw up a democratic constitution including the principles of separation of powers, local self-government, and a national legislative assembly (*duma*). Before this constitution could be implemented, the aftermath of the French Revolution and the invasion of Russia by Napoleon (which was finally repelled) caused Alexander to suspect any revolutionary ideas or attempts at reform. The constitution was abandoned, and the minister who wrote it was exiled to Siberia.

Still, the French revolutionary ideas of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" found fertile ground in Russia. When Alexander I died on December 14, 1825, his successor, Tsar Nicholas I, was faced with a protest and challenge to his authority. This protest was called the Decembrist Revolt. Some 3,000 rebels assembled on the Senate Square in St. Petersburg. They killed the military governor of St. Petersburg when he tried to negotiate with them, but they were dispersed by loyal troops after only five hours. Nicholas dealt harshly with the leaders and reacted with a reign even more firmly dedicated to discipline and order. The Decembrists failed in their attempt to restructure society, but they inspired others to oppose the tsarist regime.

A new group of people formed during this period, the *intelligentsia*. This small group was composed of educated individuals who were free-thinking and alienated from the existing society and the tsarist regime. By the 1830s, when Gogol was beginning his career as a writer, these *intelligents* were publishing works concerned with the philosophical questions of right and wrong, freedom and responsibility, and truth and justice. Due to the tsar's policy of censorship, they expressed their opposition in

carefully guarded philosophical speculation and coded language. The *intelligentsia* founded a tradition of opposition that lasted until the Revolution of 1917.

While Imperial Russia failed to make needed civil reforms, the empire did experience success in a number of other areas. Russia grew in territory from the Baltic and Black Seas to the coast of North America, conquering peoples very different from themselves in terms of language, religion, and historical experience.

Industrialization and trade increased, but the empire continued to be bothered by an inability to improve agricultural productivity. The combination of a desire for expansion and economic inefficiency led to an embarrassing defeat for the Russians in the Crimean War. This was the legacy left to Alexander II.

Alexander II emancipated the serfs in 1861. He felt it was time to abolish the system from above before it was abolished from below (by a revolt). His decision was met with opposition from the landlords. The serfs were not happy either because they did not receive land for free but had to borrow from the state and repay the loan over a period of 49 years. Besides that, no one could leave the village until all of the loans to the community had been repaid. This made the peasants even more frustrated. Terrorist organizations like the People's Will were formed in opposition to the tsar's rule. From 1866 to 1881 there were ten attempts to kill the tsar; the last attempt was successful. The five members of the People's Will who were directly responsible for the tsar's death were hanged in public.

Neither of the last two tsars, Alexander III and Nicholas II, succeeded in solving Russia's political problems. Despite impressive industrial growth between 1890 and 1914 and several attempts to create new political institutions, Russia was ill-prepared for World War I, which began in 1914. The tsarist regime collapsed in 1917. Tsar Nicholas was forced to abdicate. The Imperial family was transported to Siberia, where they were all brutally executed. The Bolshevik Party, led by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, then set out to establish Soviet rule.

LOOKING FORWARD

Nikolai Gogol's "The Overcoat" is the story of a pathetic copy clerk, Akaky Akakievich Bashmachkin. Akaky Akakievich works for the Russian Imperial government in St. Petersburg, copying official documents with his quill pen. He lives a lonely life with little pleasure except his work. Twice a day he faces the cold of a St. Petersburg winter protected only by a worn, threadbare overcoat. One day, when he takes the coat to be mended, he finds it is beyond repair. After a period of determined self-sacrifice, a new coat is obtained. The coat brings more than warmth; it also brings respectability and acceptance. This glorious new state of affairs is short-lived, however, as the tale takes a turn for the worse and the story shifts to the plane of the fantastic.

The overcoat is the central symbol in this story. As you read, try to determine what the overcoat represents beyond a mere garment of comfort.

Words to Watch For

Here are some words with which you may be unfamiliar. Use this list as a guide to better understanding. Examine it before you begin to read.

Patronymic—Russian first names are usually followed by a "patronymic," as in Akaky Akakievich Bashmachkin. Akaky is the given name, Akakievich is the patronymic (a form derived from the father's name), and Bashmachkin is the family name. *Ovich* or *evich* means "son of." Therefore, Akaky Akakievich means Akaky, son of Akaky. *Ovna* means "daughter of" and Karolina Ivanovna thus means Karolina, the daughter of Ivan.

Rubles—Russian silver coins; a ruble is worth 100 copper kopeks.

Watchman—Watchmen were similar to today's police; they guarded the streets at night.

DIGGING FOR FACTS: "THE OVERCOAT"

Circle the letter that represents the best response.

1. How did Akaky's colleagues refer to his original overcoat?

   a. the "rag bag"
   b. a Joseph's coat of many colors
   c. the old dressing gown

2. Akaky Akakievich had a little rule: whenever he spent one ruble, he slipped a copper into a little box. In this way, he had accumulated, toward payment on his coat, the tidy sum of

   a. 40 kopeks
   b. 80 rubles
   c. 40 rubles

3. The new overcoat was lined with calico and trimmed with

   a. mink
   b. marten
   c. cat

4. How did acquiring the new overcoat make Akaky Akakievich feel?

   a. bubbly with good spirits
   b. proud and arrogant
   c. sad and depressed at the thought of the price he had paid

5. To celebrate Akaky's new coat, the assistant to the head clerk

   a. gave Akaky Akakievich a promotion
   b. invited everyone to a party to drink to the coat
   c. took Akaky to lunch

6. What happened to Akaky's overcoat?

   a. It was taken by mistake by someone at the office.
   b. It was torn when he stumbled into a carriage in the street.
   c. It was stolen within sight of the watchman.

7. What happened when Akaky Akakievich went to see "the important personage"?

   a. The important person was very callous and unconcerned about the matter.
   b. The important person was very kind and sympathetic.
   c. The important person warmly welcomed him and called the proper authority.

8. Whom were the police ordered to catch at any cost, dead or alive?

   a. Petrovich
   b. Akaky Akakievich
   c. the very important personage

VOCABULARY DEVELOPMENT: "THE OVERCOAT"

"The Overcoat" was written in 1842, but it has several themes that are still common in today's world. However, some of the words may be unfamiliar to you. To enjoy the story, you may need to know the meaning of the following terms. Look them up in the dictionary and find the definition that applies in the context of this story.

1. caste—

2. imperiled—

3. despotic—

4. vulgarity—

5. frock coat—

6. rubles—

7. mete, mete out—

8. indiscriminately—

9. vestibule—

10. gauze—

11. disintegrated—

12. butt —

13. serf—

14. slops—

15. Turkish pasha—

16. kopeks—

17. intractable—

18. libations—

19. exorbitant—

20. vacillation—

21. marten—

22. brazier—

23. halberd—

24. aloof—

25. monosyllabic—

26. unpropitious—

27. intercede—

28. insubordination—

29. reprimand—

30. poultice—

31. kaput—

32. patronymic—

IN SEARCH OF MEANING: "THE OVERCOAT"

1. Read the three statements below. Which one best expresses the theme of "The Overcoat"?
   - Clothes make the man.
   - Man's inhumanity to man is often disguised by refined manners and fine clothes.
   - Life is the accumulation of possessions by which we are judged.
2. Apply the Russian proverb, "They receive you according to your clothes, they see you off according to your wits," to the personality of Akaky Akakievich. How was he received? How was he seen off?
3. Materialism is a theme in "The Overcoat." How does Akaky Akakievich redefine his identity as a result of possessing a new overcoat?
4. After Akaky's death, Gogol feels we have neglected the "important personage" and returns to him in the story. Explain the feelings of the "important personage" after Akaky Akakievich had left the office. Is he disturbed because he feels remorseful, sympathetic and concerned, or guilty?
5. How is justice served through the ghost(s) in the story?
6. "Suddenly the important personage felt someone grab him violently from behind. He turned around and saw a small man in a worn-out frock coat. Terrified, he recognized Akaky Akakievich, his face as white as the snow and looking altogether very ghostly indeed." This is how the ghost is described near the end of the tale. Yet, when the watchman catches up with a ghost, it is much taller and wears an enormous mustache. Was there a ghost or ghosts? Or were there only real thieves and real men with guilty consciences?

QUIZ: "THE OVERCOAT"

1. Why did Gogol burn the sequel to his most famous novel just days before his death?

   a. He feared the tsar would exile him if it was published.
   b. He was going to rewrite it again.
   c. He felt it was a trick by the Devil.
   d. His audiences had abandoned him and no one would publish it.

2. What caused Nikolai Gogol's death?

   a. starvation
   b. a duel
   c. hemophilia
   d. the Russian Revolution

3. Gogol lived in the time period known as

   a. Old Russia
   b. Imperial Russia
   c. Revolutionary Russia
   d. Soviet Russia

4. Which of the following is NOT associated with Tsar Peter I?

   a. the establishment of civil service categories
   b. the writing of a democratic constitution
   c. moving the capital
   d. reorganization of the military

5. What was known as the "city built on bones"?

   a. St. Petersburg
   b. Moscow
   c. Nezhin
   d. Mirgorod

6. In "The Overcoat," what was the "lowly ninth-class clerk" named?

   a. Akaky Akakievich
   b. Petrovich
   c. Nikolai Vasilievich
   d. Gregory

7. Where does "The Overcoat" take place?

   a. Kiev
   b. Moscow
   c. Mirgorod
   d. St. Petersburg

8. Why did Akaky Akakievich need to buy a new overcoat?

   a. His old one was out of style.
   b. His old one was stolen after a party.
   c. His old one was worn too thin to be repaired.
   d. His old one was too big.

9. Which of the following was NOT an effect of possessing the new overcoat?

   a. Akaky's bubbly good spirits
   b. Akaky's depression over the price
   c. Akaky's new self-image
   d. the changed attitudes of Akaky's co-workers

10. Why was the "important personage" important?

    a. He recovered Akaky's new coat for him.
    b. He was a government official who was important in his own mind.
    c. He was the tsar.
    d. He was the major character in the story.

11. If you interpret Akaky's desire for this new possession as a temptation from the Devil to distract Akaky from righteousness, then which character provides the temptation and would most likely be the symbol for the Devil?

    a. Akaky himself
    b. "the important personage"
    c. Petrovich
    d. the watchman

12. Who does the watchman catch at the end of the story?

    a. Petrovich
    b. Akaky, with a face as white as snow
    c. the two thieves
    d. a ghost with an enormous mustache

13. Who was the one person whose behavior toward others was most changed by Akaky's loss and eventual death?

    a. Petrovich
    b. "the important personage"
    c. Karolina Ivanovna
    d. Mrs. Petrovich

14. What message from Gogol's "The Overcoat" do you feel still applies today? Why? (You may use additional paper.)

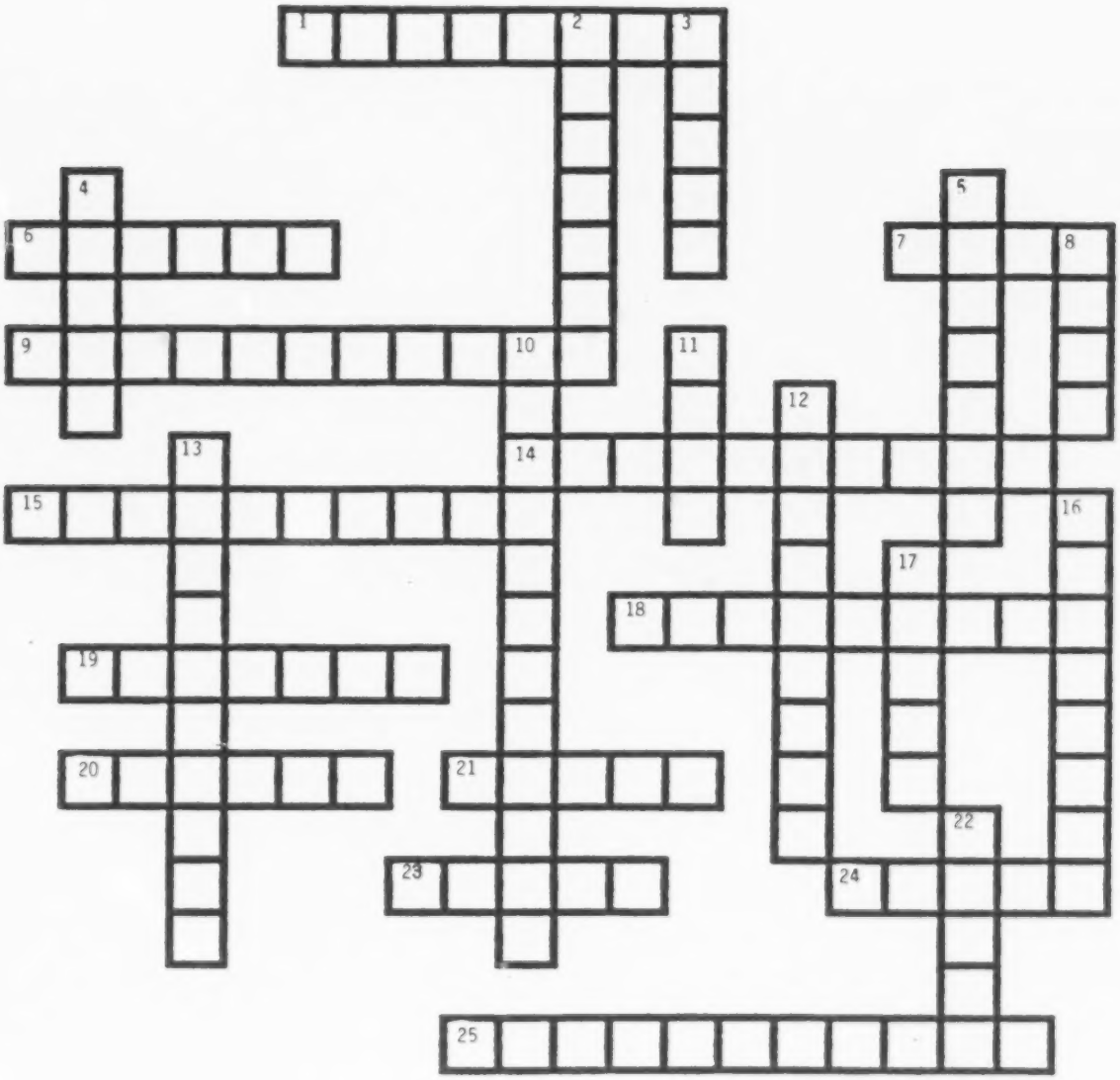
NIKOLAI GOGOL CROSSWORD

ACROSS CLUES

1. Gogol's novel about his native Ukraine: it appeared in 1835.
6. Russian copper coins each equal to 1/100 of a ruble.
7. A person or thing that is an object of ridicule, sarcasm, or contempt.
9. As a boy, Gogol read works of German _____.
14. A name derived from the father's first name.
15. State of Akaky's coat; worn or shabby.
18. Gogol burned, in an open _____, the sequel to *Dead Souls* just ten days before he died.
19. Nikolai Gogol came from an area known as the _____.
20. Silver coins of Russia, each equal to 100 kopeks (or about 25 U.S. cents).
21. *Taras* _____ is about the past glories of the Cossacks of the Ukraine.
23. The first name of the main character in "The Overcoat."
24. After Akaky's death, people are robbed of their overcoats by a _____.
25. Love of money or possessions.

DOWN CLUES

2. Gogol is sometimes referred to as the "Father of Russian _____."
3. Gogol felt his final manuscript, the sequel to *Dead Souls*, was a trick played on him by the _____.
4. Nikolai _____, author of "The Overcoat," was born in 1809.
5. P_____, Russia's greatest poet, was a friend of Gogol.
8. The title of the male Russian ruler.
10. Writers of the Romantic School often use the _____, like the ghost in this fantastic ending.
11. Russian term for a person who is bound to the landlord's estate and prohibited from moving.
12. The play *The* _____ *General* is Gogol's comedy against bad government.
13. "The Overcoat" takes place in this city, now known as Leningrad.
16. "The _____" is about burning desire, short-lived possession, and loss.
17. Akaky's job; a lowly ninth-class _____.
22. *Dead* _____, Gogol satire, in which the hero buys titles to dead serfs still listed on the census.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8. CHEKHOV'S "THE PEASANTS"

Introduction:

This story by Anton Pavlovich Chekhov provides a vivid picture of the brutality and poverty of Russian village life in late 19th-century Russia. Most Russians lived in villages like these until the revolution of 1917.

Chekhov was a doctor who lived and worked both in the city and the countryside; he therefore had the opportunity to observe closely a wide range of individuals and social types. He possessed a remarkable ability to convey what he saw without sentimentality or moralizing. Many of his stories are very short (shorter than this one); taken together, they present a complex portrait of the many social types and intellectual concerns of Chekhov's day. Teachers may want to assign other stories to good readers for independent study. Most of the stories are deceptively simple on the surface, while also presenting enduring psychological, philosophical, and social issues. Like Tolstoy, Chekhov both reflects and transcends the time and place in which he wrote.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Describe Russian country life at the end of the 19th century.

2. List one example of the work of Anton Chekhov.

3. Consider how a writer known as a realist portrays character.

Materials and Preparation: Each student will need a copy of the story. You may want copies of selected handouts provided with the activity. The amount of background needed by students to read the story with comprehension will depend upon whether it is used in a literature or social studies course. If the students know something about the social structure of 19th-century Russia and a few terms, they need little additional preparation.

Time Required: "The Peasants" is about 28 pages long. Students need homework time to read the story, plus 1 or 2 days for class discussion.

Procedure:

1. Before students read "The Peasants," either say a few words about Chekhov or give Handout 8-1 directly to the students. Handout 8-2 should be distributed when students are assigned to read the story.

2. Use Handout 8-3 to guide discussion. Answers are provided below:

Handout 8-3 Answer Key:

1. Nikolai lost his job as a waiter at the Slav Fair Hotel because he fell ill. Without a job, he felt it was better to be bored in his home village of Zhukovo instead of Moscow.

2. The village is portrayed as a dark, seamy, and unpleasant place, whereas the surrounding territory is picturesque, beautiful, serene, and "lovely," according to Olga.

3. Nikolai's expectations are not met because life is not cheaper there; going back home costs him his life.

Activity developed by Katherine Neher, St. Paul Academy—Summit School, St. Paul, Minnesota.

4. Osip admonishes Kiriak for being a no-good drunkard, but he himself is one. Kiriak's violent behavior toward Marya is ironic because his brutal power hides his own impotence and laziness.

5. Olga admires the squire and his children; they are "nice, cultivated and fine-looking." Marya has contempt for them; they are "monsters" who would crush her if she did not get out of their way. Their attitudes differ because Olga has not yet experienced the harshness of the squire, as Marya apparently has.

6. Gran is gaunt, bent, and toothless; a bad tempered worrier, she freely speaks her mind and worries constantly about geese getting into her garden and cows into her chicks.

7. On the Feast of the Assumption, Sasha and Motka secretly put milk in the bowl of water Gran uses to dip her bread. Taking milk is prohibited during the fast, so the girls believe Gran is sinning and will therefore go to hell.

8. The men vainly attempt to put out the fire. The women wail in mourning and hold icons.

9. The peasants look helpless and ignorant in contrast to the gentry.

10. Peasant life was "drab and miserable," marked by "hunger and filth, sheer, grinding poverty." For serfs, life was ordered and strict, yet they had more than enough to eat. The grandparents preferred life as serfs. They claimed to remember clearly (Gran "remembered every single thing").

11. The *samovar* was removed because Osip could not pay the 119 rubles he owed in taxes.

12. Osip did not believe in God but recognized the supernatural, regarding it as women's business. Gran believed vaguely. Marya and Fyokla took communion once a year, but it meant nothing to them; they didn't teach their children about the faith. In the village, few believed in their religion and few understood it, but all loved the Scriptures and found hope in the veneration of icons, especially the icon of the Blessed Life-giving Virgin.

13. Olga is an educated, religious woman, offended by the crude peasants.

14. Only rich peasants feared death; the poorer ones were not afraid. Marya wished death would come quickly. The young girls thought it best not to think of the "fearful chill of death." They were fearful because they had not yet known the real misery of their lives. However, the adults' lives were so miserable that they had little or nothing to lose by dying.

15-16. Answers will vary.

Evaluation:

The two essay questions on Handout 8-3 could be used for evaluation purposes, or student participation in the discussions could be graded.

ANTON CHEKHOV
1860-1904

Chekhov was born in the town of Taganrog on the Sea of Azov in southern Russia. In 1879, he began writing to help support his family and to pay his way through medical school at the University of Moscow. After graduation from medical school, he worked for a short time in a hospital near Moscow. He left there to write full-time. In the first seven years of his literary career, he wrote over 400 stories, novels, sketches, reviews, and law reports. In 1888, he was awarded the Pushkin Prize by the Imperial Academy of Sciences for his writing ability. Nevertheless, he did not abandon his practice of medicine. In 1892, he bought an estate near Moscow, Melikhova, where he lived and wrote while serving as a doctor to local peasants. There Chekhov took a keen interest in local affairs, serving as an inspector of the regional hospital and as a member of the local government council, the so-called *zemstvo*.

Chekhov wrote the play "The Sea Gull" in 1895, quickly followed by "Uncle Vanya," "The Cherry Orchard," and "Three Sisters." The last two of these plays were written in Yalta. Ill with tuberculosis, Chekhov moved to this town in the Crimea on the advice of his doctors, who thought that the climate might help him fight the disease. For Chekhov, Yalta was a place of exile. He missed his artistic and literary friends in Moscow and yearned for the countryside of central Russia. In the garden of his house in Yalta, he planted the flowers and trees native to the north in an effort to recreate the landscape he loved.

In 1901, Chekhov married Olga Knipper, an actress with the Moscow Art Theater. This theater presented his plays to increasingly enthusiastic Moscow audiences. Not long after his marriage, Chekhov's health worsened. Finally, again on the advice of his doctors, Chekhov went to a health resort in Germany. There he died in 1904. His body was returned to Russia to be buried at the Novodevichy Monastery in Moscow. In his will, he provided for his wife and his family, with the remainder to go to the town of Taganrog in support of public education.

VOCABULARY FOR "THE PEASANTS"

The following technical terms appear in Chekhov's story, "The Peasants." Not all translations include these words, however, so you may not find all of them in your version of the story.

izba: a peasant dwelling, hut

pech: a stove used for both cooking and heating. In Russian palaces the stove was often very beautiful and made of ceramic tiles; in the peasant *izba*, the stove might be of simple tiles or earth. In the peasant hut, there was usually a shelf above the stove, the warmest place in the *izba*, where old people would sleep, or spend the day.

icon corner: in a corner of the *izba*, often facing east, the family might keep an icon (religious picture, usually painted on wood, that depicted a saint). The icon was believed to have religious power of its own.

mir: The Russian word *mir* means both "peace" and "the world"; it also refers to the peasant community. The culture of this community was characterized by an effort to avoid risk and to maintain unanimity and order. Various practices operated to keep the members of the commune relatively equal in wealth. Stability was essential if the peasants were to survive in conditions of harsh climate and relatively infertile soil. The village order of rural Russia took shape at the middle of the 16th century and changed remarkably little until World War I.

When the emancipation of the serfs occurred by decree of the tsar in 1861, land was granted to the serfs, but they had to pay for it. Because the *mir* as a whole was responsible for seeing to it that these payments were made, it was difficult for any individual to leave the *mir*. Almost 80 percent of the Russian people lived in such villages at the time of the Bolshevik Revolution.

samovar: a metal urn used to heat water for tea. The boiling *samovar* symbolizes the warmth and hospitality of the Russian family.

polati: boards for the sleeping loft/shelf

seni: porch; passageway

chulan: larder, pantry

verst: a measure of distance; about two-thirds of a mile

keen: a dirge or wailing for the dead

STUDY GUIDE TO "THE PEASANTS"

1. Why did Nikolai return to his village?

2. What contrast do you notice between the village and its surroundings?

3. Are Nikolai's expectations met when he returns to his village?

4. What is ironic about the old man's admonishment to Kiriak? What is ironic about Kiriak's behavior?

5. How do Olga's and Marya's opinions of the squire differ and why?

6. Describe the grandmother.

7. What "trick" did the girls play on her and why?

8. Fire threatens to overtake the village. How do the peasants react?

   Males:

   Females:

9. The gentry extinguish the blaze. How do the peasants look by contrast?

10. Describe life as a serf and life as a peasant. Which is preferred? How reliable are the memories of the grandparents?

11. Why was the *samovar* removed?

12. Describe the villagers' attitudes toward prayer and religion.

13. Characterize Olga.

14. What are the different attitudes towards death? Explain the differences.

15. Choose one of the characters in the story and, in one paragraph, describe him/her. In a second paragraph, explain how you know what the character was like. You will need to go back through the story and find the exact way in which Chekhov has conveyed the essence of this character (for example, by what the person did or said, how he/she was dressed or looked). Provide evidence in the form of quotations from the story.

16. Is the story's ending optimistic or pessimistic? Defend your response.

9. TOLSTOY'S "AFTER THE BALL"

Introduction:

This very short story has been chosen because its subject, a young man's love and disillusionment, makes it a particularly accessible and attractive story for high school students. The story conveys succinctly a great deal of information about the social hierarchy of late 19th-century Russia. It is also a masterpiece by one of the world's greatest writers.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Describe Russian country life at the end of the 19th century.
2. List one example of a work of Leo Tolstoy.
3. Consider how a writer known as a realist portrays character.

Materials and Preparation: Each student will need a copy of the story. You may want copies of selected handouts provided with the activity. The amount of background needed by students to read the story with comprehension will depend upon whether it is used in a literature or social studies course. If the students know something about the social structure of 19th-century Russia and a few terms, they need little additional preparation.

Time Required: "After the Ball" is about 10 pages long. Students will need homework time to read the story, plus 1 or 2 days for class discussion.

Procedure:

For Tolstoy's "After the Ball," you may choose whether to introduce Tolstoy orally or give the reading (Handout 9-1) to the students. Handout 9-2 may be given as a guide for the students' reading or may be used by the teacher as a discussion guide. Answers are given here for your convenience:

Handout 9-2 Answer Key:

1. It was not the custom to think too much about the meaning of life, so he worked hard at his studies but had a very good time, too. He was wealthy, handsome, could dance well, and had a horse of his own. He often went tobogganing with young women, he drank only champagne, and his favorite enjoyment was going to balls.
2. He was very touched by seeing them dance together. He noticed that the father's calfskin boots were old-fashioned; he was moved by this because he thought the father was depriving himself so he could spoil the daughter. He could see that the father had been a good dancer when he was younger but now was too heavy and did not have enough spring.
3. Member of an Asian minority group who lives in the USSR.
4. He struck the soldier because he didn't hit the prisoner hard enough. The colonel did not personally beat the prisoner.
5. The army officer was the father he had watched dance earlier.

Activity developed by Katherine Neher, St. Paul Academy—Summit School, St. Paul, Minnesota, and Janet Vaillant, Soviet and East European Language and Area Center, Harvard University.

6. He found that whenever she became thoughtful, which was often, a smile would cross her face; he would immediately be reminded of what he had seen her father doing. Because of this, his love for her disappeared.

7. Because he could not understand why the man had to be beaten as he was by the soldiers; without this understanding, he did not feel he could go into the army.

8. Student essays should make the following points: The nobility were the wealthy and powerful landowners. They lived a life of luxury and ease and had the serfs to do all the work for them. The serfs were the peasant class who were virtually owned by the landowners on whose land they farmed. Their lives were difficult; they were very poor and they had no rights. The military were an elite class; being part of the military assured a young man's social standing. The military was a group with a great deal of power over lesser people's lives. Minorities were disregarded and always in danger of being discriminated against and badly treated.

Evaluation:

The essay question on the study guide can be used for evaluation purposes, or the entire study guide can be given as a quiz.

LEO NIKOLAEVICH TOLSTOY
1828-1910

Count Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy was born into a wealthy family of landowners on September 9, 1828. He spent his childhood at Yasnaya Polyana, his family's estate about 100 miles south of Moscow. There he was educated at home by tutors. He entered the provincial university at Kazan, where he became interested in moral philosophy, but left without getting his degree.

He then went to join his brother and serve in the Russian army in the Caucasus. There he began to write a memoir of his childhood and short stories about his army experiences. When he published this work, it met with great popular success. After leaving the army, Tolstoy went to live in St. Petersburg, meeting the leading writers of the day. He did not enjoy this fashionable life, however, and returned to his family estate. There he spent most of the rest of his life with his wife. Together they had 13 children, of whom ten survived. Tolstoy collapsed and died at a railroad station, Astapovo, in 1910, when he was 82 years old.

After he returned to his estate, Tolstoy became interested in managing it well and in improving the life of the peasants. He opened a school for the children of the serfs and wrote books for young children that were widely used in Russian schools. He also wrote many short stories and short novels, as well as the two long novels for which he is best known today—*War and Peace* (1869) and *Anna Karenina* (1877).

As he grew older, Tolstoy became increasingly religious and interested in moral questions. He came to believe in the non-resistance to evil and in anarchism. In addition to his fiction, he wrote on a wide variety of moral and social subjects, ranging from vegetarianism, to famine relief, to the evils of alcoholism. He believed that money and private property should be abolished and replaced by the direct exchange of services. He also opposed capital punishment. Tolstoy's writings greatly influenced Gandhi and other idealistic people who tried to found communities based on Tolstoy's teachings.

By the end of his life, Tolstoy had become a revered figure, already recognized as one of the world's greatest authors and a person of moral force.

STUDY GUIDE TO "AFTER THE BALL"

1. Describe the narrator's life as a university student.

2. The narrator watches the father and daughter dance. What are some of his impressions?

3. Define Tatar.

4. Why did the colonel strike the soldier? Did he participate in the actual beating of the prisoner?

5. Whom did the narrator not recognize immediately?

6. What happened to the narrator's love for the colonel's daughter?

7. Why was he unable to go into the military?

8. Using this story as a guide, describe the life of the following groups as you might imagine it in late 19th-century Russia.

   Nobility

   Serfs/Servants

   Military

   Minorities

IV.
THE SOVIET PERIOD

This section contains more activities than any other part of the collection. The history of the Soviet Union since 1917 so influenced developments in the rest of the world that understanding the history of the Soviet period is key to understanding today's world. The rapid changes that have occurred in the past several years make it all the more important for students to know something about the Soviet past and its present challenges.

The activities in the section are varied. The first two focus on skills of evaluating and analyzing sources. These are followed by an activity examining the collectivization of agriculture in the USSR and a mock trial of Joseph Stalin. The next activity compares U.S. and Soviet textbook accounts of World War II. The Soviet economy, the use of primary source materials, planning a unit on the USSR in a world affairs course, Soviet-American self-images, and future possibilities for the cooperative exploration of space are topics and approaches covered in subsequent activities.

10. EVALUATING SOURCES

Introduction:

This activity provides guidelines to help students evaluate sources of information; it may be adapted for a wide variety of uses. The activity is intended to help students recognize that textbooks are not the only source of information about the past and that sources vary in their reliability. Indeed, students should learn that it may be essential to consider the author and circumstance of the creation of a document in order to understand the significance of what the document says. Either handout may be used separately or at different times in a course; they reinforce each other. The next activity, "Stalin's 'Short Course'," provides an extension and reinforcement of this activity.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Distinguish between primary and secondary sources.

2. Understand that many different types of evidence are used by a historian, textbook writer, or newspaper correspondent.

3. Explain that some types of written evidence are likely to be more reliable than others and consider which types are most reliable.

4. Explain that some evidence may be good for one purpose (e.g., to indicate what people felt or thought at the time) but not for another (e.g., to confirm what actually happened).

Materials and Preparation: You will need to make copies of Handouts 10-1 and 10-2 for all students.

Time Required: Homework and 1 class period for each handout.

Procedure:

1. At the end of a class period, provide students with Handout 10-1 and ask if there are any questions about terms.

2. Discuss the meaning of *primary source* (something written at the time of an event by a person who witnessed the event, a drafting committee of a document, a poet, etc.) and *secondary source* (a document put together later and based on the evidence of others).

3. Assign completion of the handout as homework.

4. During the next class period, discuss student findings. Encourage discussion and disagreement among students, especially about reliability. For example, an eyewitness only sees part of the event, whereas the textbook writer sifts through many sources. A poem or piece of music may convey feelings but not facts. Diary evidence may vary in reliability depending on who wrote it, what the author's position was, whether the diary was written for personal reflection or posterity. A newspaper account may be a primary source for what people were told or thought at the time, but a secondary source if the reporter depended on the eyewitness accounts of others.

5. You may want to allow some time to elapse before giving students Handout 10-2. It is similar to Handout 10-1, but deals with types of materials rather than specific sources. It can be given as homework followed by a class period of discussion or can be completed and discussed during class time.

Activity developed by Robert A. Cole, Whitman-Hanson Regional High School, Whitman, Massachusetts, and Kathleen Masalski, Hopkins Academy, Hadley, Massachusetts.

Evaluation:

Teachers can develop similar questions for other units of study and look for evidence that students are using the methods of analysis with other materials.

Enrichment/Extension:

Depending on the curriculum setting in which this exercise is used, the level of student ability, and the access to ample library resources, a teacher may want to assign each student to find an example of one of the types of materials listed in Handout 10-2. For instance, if students were studying the situation in Russia on the eve of the Russian Revolution, the Stalin period, or the situation in the USSR today, each could be asked to find and categorize two sources of information about that period.

EVALUATING SOURCES ON SOVIET HISTORY

For each item listed below, indicate whether you consider it a primary or secondary source for understanding the revolution of 1917. Then rate each item's reliability on a scale of 1 to 3 (with 1 being very reliable). Make some notes on probable biases or strengths to support your ratings.

Primary/ Secondary	Reliability	Source	Probable Biases/Strengths
_____	_____	*Pravda* feature (9/8/32)	
_____	_____	Photograph of crowd scene during October Revolution	
_____	_____	Diary of Boshevik leader	
_____	_____	*London Times* editorial (10th anniversary of Revolution)	
_____	_____	Your textbook	
_____	_____	The Soviet Symbolist poet Aleksandr Blok's "The Twelve," a poem written in January 1918 to capture the "spirit" of the Revolution	
_____	_____	Major General Sir Alfred Knox, *With the Russian Army, 1914-1917* (NY: Dutton, 1921)	
_____	_____	French novel based on actual events (published 1978)	
_____	_____	Guard's letter describing the Imperial family under detention at Tsarskoe Selo	
_____	_____	Maurice Paléologue, *An Ambassador's Memoirs*, 3 vols., translated by F.A. Holt (NY: Doran, 1925)	
_____	_____	Music composed in Leningrad during the Revolution	
_____	_____	Soviet posters made in 1962	
_____	_____	*The Letters of the Tsar to the Tsaritsa: 1914-1917* (NY: Dodd, Mead, 1929)	
_____	_____	A documentary film produced in Moscow 14 years after the Revolution	

Primary/ Secondary	Reliability	Source	Probable Biases/Strengths
_____	_____	Edward, Duke of Windsor, *A King's Story* (NY: Putnam, 1947)	
_____	_____	Physical remains of noteworthy buildings (Smolny Institute, Winter Palace, etc.)	
_____	_____	Cartoon in the *Boston Post* (1/20/18)	
_____	_____	A biography of Lenin written by a Danish historian (1990)	
_____	_____	Paul Bulygin and Alexander Kerensky, *The Murder of the Romanovs* (London: Hutchinson, 1935)	
_____	_____	Written orders to a detachment of Red Guards two days after assault on Winter Palace	
_____	_____	John Reed, *Ten Days that Shook the World* (NY: Modern Library, 1935)	
_____	_____	Josef Stalin, "Letters to Comrade Etchin" (J.V. Stalin, Correspondence and Papers, Vol. 13)	
_____	_____	Painting of events (obscure Soviet painter born in Novgorod in 1889)	
_____	_____	Victor A. McKusick, "The Royal Hemophilia," *Scientific American*, vol. 213, no. 2 (August 1965), 88-95.	
_____	_____	Interview (1933) with man who had been a student with Lenin at Kazan University	
_____	_____	Tatiana Melnik Botkina, *Vospominanya o Tsarskoy Sem'ye* ("Memories of the Tsar's Family") (Belgrade: Stefanovich, 1921)	
_____	_____	Minutes of meeting of Cheka of Western Region (signed by Chairman of Extraordinary Commission of Western Region) (9/17/18)	
_____	_____	A pamphlet published in 1961 by the Communist Party of the United States	
_____	_____	Maxim Gorky, *Fragments From My Diary* (including descriptions of ordinary life in Russia in 1917)	

EVALUATING SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

Listed below are some of the sources that might be used by someone studying the Soviet Union. Label each as a primary or secondary source (P, S). Place the number 1 (high), 2, or 3 alongside each source, indicating reliability. Note any "built-in" biases or strengths associated with each source.

Primary/ Secondary	Reliability	Source	Probable Biases/Strengths
		newspaper report	
		music composed during the time period	
		diary of person involved	
		poem about events	
		photograph of events	
		painting of events	
		novel based on actual events	
		cartoon drawn at the time	
		participant's letter describing event	
		posters of period	
		story told by someone who was there	
		description in a history book	
		film about events	
		physical remains from period (buildings, artifacts)	

These questions were adapted by Kathleen Woods Masalski from Tedd Levy and Donna Collins Krasnow, *A Guidebook for Teaching United States History: Earliest Times to the Civil War* (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1979).

11. STALIN'S "SHORT COURSE": ANALYZING A DOCUMENT

Introduction:

This activity allows students to apply what they learned about evaluating sources in Activity 10. The document provided, an excerpt from Joseph Stalin's *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: A Short Course*, published in 1938, provides an extreme case of an unreliable source. It is a particularly effective example to teach students concepts that can be applied in more subtle cases.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Distinguish between primary and secondary sources.

2. Develop questions about sources that can be used in evaluating the reliability of any source.

3. Understand the techniques used by Stalin to discredit his enemies and the atmosphere of the purges of the 1930s.

4. Describe the power struggles in early Soviet history by which Stalin came to power.

Materials and Preparation: Before students use this activity, they need to know who Stalin was and to have read a brief account of early Soviet history (*From Russia to the USSR*, pp. 229-250, an encyclopedia account, or the relevant chapter from a standard history.) They also need to know something about the scope and effect of the purges and that they were at their height just prior to the publication of the *History of the CPSU*, which is excerpted here. You will need to make copies of the handout including the excerpts.

Time Required: 1-2 class periods

Procedure:

1. Ask students to read the excerpt on Handout 11-1 in class (or for homework) and think about whether it is a primary or secondary source and how they would evaluate its reliability. They should identify the characteristics of the document (language, authorship, time at which it was written) that helped them to reach their conclusions.

2. In discussing students' responses, the teacher can encourage disagreement as to whether this is a primary or secondary source: it is not an eyewitness account or diary; it is a set of findings about past events written by an historian. On the other hand, it is a primary source for the moment at which it is written and provides evidence about what the Stalin regime *wanted* people to think, as well as about the atmosphere of the time in which it was written: the use of shrill language, imagery that dehumanizes opponents, linking of any opposition with foreign spies, etc.

3. Ask students what they need to know in order to evaluate the reliability of any source. Write their questions on the board; students may want to keep a copy for later reference. The questions can be asked by the teacher about other documents students will read later in the year. Possible questions for the list include the following:

- Who wrote it? Under what personal circumstances?
- What was going on at this time in the society in which the author lived?

Activity developed by Janet Vaillant, Soviet and East European Language and Area Center, Harvard University.

- What was the author's purpose? What was the purpose of this document? Is there anything in the document that helps me answer these questions or must I guess?
- Can I learn anything about the circumstances in which the document was written, its author, purpose, etc., from some other source?
- What kind of language is used in the document?
- What kind of evidence does the author use, and how is it used?
- Is it a balanced account? How can I tell? If it isn't balanced, how is it not balanced? Why is it not balanced?

4. At the end of the discussion of the Stalin reading, students should understand that there is absolutely no evidence that those named plotted against Lenin, betrayed state secrets, or conspired with foreigners; by 1990, all except Trotsky had been declared innocent by the Gorbachev regime. Students should also understand that the Soviet regime had a monopoly on publishing, which they justified with the argument that Marxism-Leninism had discovered the true science of society and that everything should therefore be written from the correct ideological point of view. Censorship was strict. The *Short Course* was the official history. To question it was to invite arrest and deportation, or even death. The effect was that Soviet citizens did not know their own history. Knowledge of the Stalin period increased somewhat as a result of Khrushchev's revelations in 1956, but only today in the period of *glasnost* is the true story about what Stalin did being told in the Soviet Union.

Evaluation:

Find a short, standard account of early Soviet history. Ask students to compare it with Stalin's account of the roles played by the men mentioned in this account. What differences do they notice in the facts presented? In the type of language used? Which source is more reliable?

Enrichment/Extension

Ask students to choose one of the three most important people referred to in this account—Trotsky, Bukharin, or Tukhachevsky—and to do research into his career. Either in writing or as a class presentation, the students can then defend their subject against the charge levied by Stalin and offer reasons why Stalin chose to attack this person.

STALIN'S OFFICIAL HISTORY OF THE PURGES

The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was put together by a special commission, approved by Stalin, and published in 1938. It was the official version of Soviet history up to that point. Seventy million copies were printed between 1938 and 1953, and it was used in all schools throughout the Soviet Union. Those mentioned in this passage—Bukharin, Trotsky, Pyatakov, Zinoviev, Kamenev, and others—were all "Old Bolsheviks" (early members of Lenin's party) most of whom had, by 1938, been arrested and shot as traitors. Trotsky, who had fled the USSR, was killed in Mexico in 1940.

* * * * *

...In 1937, new facts came to light regarding the fiendish crimes of the Bukharin-Trotsky gang. The trial of Pyatakov, Radek and others, the trial of Tukhachevsky and, lastly, the trial of Bukharin and others, all showed that the Bukharinites and Trotskyites had long ago joined to form a common band of enemies of the people, operating as the "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites."

The trials showed that these dregs of humanity, in conjunction with the enemies of the people, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev, had been in conspiracy against Lenin, the Party and the Soviet state ever since the early days of the October Socialist Revolution. The insidious attempts to thwart the Peace of Brest-Litovsk at the beginning of 1918, the plot against Lenin and the conspiracy with the "Left" Socialist-Revolutionaries for the arrest and murder of Lenin, Stalin, and Sverdlov in the spring of 1918, the villainous shot that wounded Lenin in the summer of 1918, the revolt of the "Left" in the summer of 1918, the deliberate aggravation of differences in the Party in 1921 with the object of undermining and overthrowing Lenin's leadership from within, the attempts to overthrow the Party leadership during Lenin's illness and after his death, the betrayal of state secrets and the supply of information of an espionage character to foreign espionage services, the vile assassination of Kirov, the acts of wrecking, diversion and explosions...—all these and similar villainies over a period of twenty years were committed, it transpired, with the participation or under the direction of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Bukharin, Rykov and their henchmen, at the behest of espionage services of bourgeois states.

The trials brought to light the fact that the Trotsky-Bukharin fiends, in obedience to the wishes of their masters—the espionage services of foreign states—had set out to destroy the Party and the Soviet state, to undermine the defensive power of the country, to assist foreign military intervention, to prepare the way for the defeat of the Red Army, to bring about the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R., to hand over the Soviet Maritime Region to the Japanese, Soviet Belorussia to the Poles, and the Soviet Ukraine to the Germans, to destroy the gains of the workers and collective farmers, and to restore capitalist slavery in the U.S.S.R.

These Whiteguard pigmies, whose strength was not more than that of a gnat, apparently flattered themselves that they were the masters of the country, and imagined that it was really in their power to sell or give away the Ukraine, Belorussia and the Maritime Region.

These contemptible lackeys of the fascists forgot that the Soviet people had only to move a finger, and not a trace of them would be left.

The Soviet court sentenced the Bukharin-Trotsky fiends to be shot.

The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs carried out the sentence.

The Soviet people approved the annihilation of the Bukharin-Trotsky gang and passed on to next business....

From Commission of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., editor, *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* (Bolshevik) (New York: 1939).

12. LET HISTORY JUDGE: AN EXPLORATION OF THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF SOVIET AGRICULTURE

Introduction:

This activity focuses on the rapid collectivization of Soviet agriculture. Students read about the process and take the part of groups involved in collectivization. The activity can be used in world or Russian history classes studying the 1920s and 1930s or in classes studying the methods of totalitarian states. If the activity is used in a Russian or world history class, introduce it in the period of Stalin's achievement of power to illustrate both his methods and the economic policies of the first Five-Year Plan. If the activity is used in a class dealing with 20th-century totalitarianism, be sure that students understand the concepts of Marxian socialism. The students should consider the rationale for collective vs. private ownership of property, and the advantages of large-scale farming (i.e., using machinery, other economies of scale).

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Identify the reasons for the rapid collectivization of agriculture in the Soviet Union.

2. Recognize causes for resistance to collectivization.

3. Analyze the effect of these events on subsequent Soviet economic success.

4. Consider the reasons for the general lack of knowledge of this tragedy.

5. Work in cooperative groups.

Materials and Preparation: You will need enough copies of Handouts 12-1 and 12-2 for all students and enough copies of Handouts 12-4 and 12-5 for one-half of the class to have each. Handout 12-3, whose use is optional, contains a bibliography of further readings suitable for advanced students, as well as some important statistics.

Time Required: 2 to 3 class periods plus homework

Procedure:

1. Distribute Handout 12-1. Students should complete the definitions of terms as they read the assignments and listen to the presentations.

2. Distribute the reading that is to be read by all students (Handout 12-2). Allow time for discussion of the reading.

3. Explain that students will be reading two excerpts from people who were personally involved with collectivization in the Ukraine. Divide the class in half and assign each group one of the other readings (Handouts 12-4 and 12-5). If appropriate, you may distribute Handout 12-3 at this time as well.

4. Give students the remainder of the first day to work in groups to plan the presentation of their material to the rest of the class. They should complete the readings as homework.

Activity developed by Susan Travis, Woodbury High School, Woodbury, Minnesota.

5. On the second day, allow some time to complete planning for the presentations. Then have each group present the information from their reading to the class. This could be done through a debate featuring speakers' first detailing and then trying to defend the actions of Ukrainians, Comrade Khizhniak, Arshinov, the narrator, or the woman who started the fire. As an alternative, students could dramatize key events in each reading.

6. Conduct a debriefing discussion using the following questions:

- What were the motives of the communists?
- What do you think the Party official meant when he said "the local village authorities need an injection of Bolshevik iron" to speed the collectivization? How long were these efforts expected to take?
- What would be the anti-Bolshevik ideas of "rotten liberalism," "bourgeois humanitarianism," and "capitalist farming"?
- What three tasks were the brigades given?
- Why did the peasant family in Podgorodnoye decide to join the Kolkhoz (collective)? (Mention the vivid example of the Vorvans in your answer.)
- Compare and contrast Arshinov and Kravchenko's methods of getting people to join the kolkhoz.
- When Party and GPU officials rounded up troublesome kulaks, where were they sent?
- What conclusion about the methods and goals of the Party was reached by Kravchenko and his friend Tsvetkov?
- In what ways did peasants sabatoge collectivization? Why was there resistance?
- Why did this tragedy occur? Explain from the point of view of the communists and from the capitalists' point of view.
- How has this collectivization failure affected subsequent Soviet history?
- Why do you think this event is so little known in comparison to the Holocaust, which killed many fewer people?

Evaluation:

Ask students to respond to the following questions:

- Why was rapid collectivization attempted? How long did collectivization take? What were its long-term effects?
- Select either Arshinov, the Ukrainians, or the narrator Kravchenko and describe collectivization from their point of view.

Enrichment/Extension:

Students might compare examples of 20th-century genocide/holocaust/terror, looking at this case and comparing it to the Nazi Holocaust, the death of the Armenians in 1915 at the hands of the Turks, and the more recent examples in Uganda perpetrated by Idi Amin and by Pol Pot in Cambodia. Students might also research the long-term effects of the collectivization of agriculture, determining why many economists consider its continued existence as the main reason for the poor performance of Soviet agriculture.

GLOSSARY/DEFINITION

Define or identify each of the terms below for which no description is provided.

1. 25,000er—
2. Bukharin—with Lenin, one of the founders of Soviet communism; leader of the anti-Stalin opposition to forced collectivization; believed in evolutionary methods to achieve socialism.
3. capitalist farming—
4. collectivization—
5. expropriation—
6. famine—
7. genocide—
8. GPU—internal security forces; the secret police.
9. inquisition—
10. Kazakhstan—region in Central Asia where collectivization was accomplished at great cost.
11. kolkhoz—a collective farm.
12. kulak (Kurkul in Ukrainian)—in Communisty Party usage, a wealthy peasant who exploited the labor of others or any opponents of the collective farm policies, whether or not they were rich.
13. Lenin—most important of the leaders of the Bolshevik (Communist) Revolution of 1917.
14. liquidation of Kulaks—policy of getting rid of the kulaks; also known as dekulakization.
15. Molotov—
16. orphan of collectivization—
17. Podgorodnoye—Ukrainian village nearly wiped out by famine.
18. right deviationism—a term used to describe enemies of Stalin who wanted to go more slowly; conservatives or rightists.
19. Stalin—
20. Ukraine—

COLLECTIVIZATION AND THE EXCITEMENT OF SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

The Fifteenth Communist Party Congress in 1927 authorized the First Five Year Plan. In it, the Soviet government set very ambitious goals for industrial production. The plan called for an end to private property in industry, which had been allowed in small factories and farms during the period of the new Economic Policy, and set a modest goal for the collectivization of agriculture. Collectivization required peasants to give up their small, individual farms and join together to work large tracts of land collectively. They would share ownership of the land and be paid with a share of their joint production.

FACT: By October 1929, 4.1 percent of peasant households had joined collective farms. By March 1930, 58 percent of peasants were collectivized. By 1936, 90 percent of peasants were collectivized.

The government first tried to get the peasants to join collective farms voluntarily. However, few peasants wanted to give up their newly-acquired private farms. The government then introduced an all-out campaign to force them to do what they would not do on their own. The poor and landless peasants were set against their richer neighbors (called *kulaks* by the Party), with promises of sharing the *kulaks'* land and possessions. Young enthusiasts and Party workers from the towns spearheaded what became a second civil war in the countryside. Thousands of peasants who resisted were forcibly sent away to settle unpopulated lands in Kazakhstan and Siberia; others were forced into labor camps. By 1935, over one million exiles had been placed in special settlements to undertake the construction of new enterprises called for in the ambitious economic plan. Recalling this period later during World War II, Stalin confided to Winston Churchill that collectivization had been a terrible struggle, more stressful even than the war.

FACT: It is estimated that between three and seven million people died during the collectivization campaign and the man-made famine that accompanied it. Losses were greatest among Ukrainians and Kazakhs.*

Bukharin, one of Stalin's most talented partners in the early stages of socialist construction, observed, "The worst thing about collectivization, which was a horrible example of brutality to innocent and hardworking peasants, was the deep changes it brought to the psychological outlook of those Communists who participated in the campaign...for whom terror was henceforth a normal method of administration." Collectivization led, Bukharin thought, to the dehumanization of the people working in the Party. Stalin, unlike Bukharin, was not troubled by such thoughts. He was determined to bring the peasants under government control regardless of the cost. In the nineteenth century, the peasant, stubborn and resistant to change, had lived his life in his own village and ignored or evaded the wishes of the Tsar's government. Stalin recognized that the stubborn peasant might become a dangerous obstacle to his ambitions. Collectivization put an end to this possibility.

Why, it might be asked, was collectivization so important? Why was it pushed through so swiftly? In the view of those who supported it, collectivization was a prerequisite for rapid industrialization. Large agricultural units, they believed, could be farmed more productively by fewer people than could the thousands of small peasants' farms created by the break-up of the *mir* and the landlords' estates. These large farms would make it possible to use modern machinery and also free manpower for industry. Furthermore, the government would be able to collect produce from these farms to trade for the foreign currency necessary to buy industrial equipment from abroad. And finally, the government

*Robert Conquest, a contemporary researcher whose work was published in 1986, after this passage was written, put the number much higher—using census figures to estimate that as many as 14.5 million may have died.

Excerpted from *Russia to USSR: A Narrative and Documentary History*, by Janet G. Vaillant and John Richards II (New York: Longman, 1985), pp. 231-233.

would find it far easier to control the peasants of Russia, once they were gathered into large groups. Collectivization achieved most of these goals, but it was a success bought at the expense of great human suffering. Livestock were slaughtered and eaten by the owners rather than given to the collective. Production was disrupted and there was a terrible famine in which millions of people died of starvation. Not until Stalin's death in 1953 did the production of food regain its pre-collectivization levels.

Collectivization not only had an enormous cost in human lives, it also left its mark, as Bukharin observed, on the developing style of Soviet administration. The war of 1914, the civil war that followed it, and then the collectivization campaign all helped accustom the new Soviet regime to the use of brutal methods in the service of socialist construction. Lenin himself had taught that the health of the revolution was the highest law. What he meant in effect was that the ends justify the means. Anything that furthered the cause of socialism was permissible. Now Stalin had established himself as the arbiter and last word on what it was that the revolution needed. He had only to say the revolution demanded that he carry out a given policy, regardless of what it cost others, and it was done. His word became law.

The early 1930s were nonetheless a time of rapid industrial growth. As in the 1920s, there was among a large portion of the Soviet population—particularly among Soviet young people—a sense of exhilaration, of new possibilities for themselves personally, and the chance to build a new and better society. The government, which now owned and ran all large factories and other enterprises, set high targets for factory construction and output. Pressure from the central administration to make these targets was intense. Everyone, including women, was expected to work hard to build the socialist future. And work hard they did, under difficult conditions and often with considerable ingenuity.

FACT: During the First Five Year Plan, which was declared complete after four years, the output of machinery quadrupled and that of oil doubled.

FACT: The number of women in the work force more than doubled between 1928 and 1933, and doubled again by 1940.

Young people worked with enthusiasm to build the foundation of the new industry in such far away places as Magnitogorsk, the new steel center built in the Urals. Electricity was brought to the countryside. Education, particularly technical education which bore a direct relation to the regime's economic goals, was widely available. The former peasant, and certainly his son or daughter, could attend night school or the new industrial academies, and look forward to being the foreman of a factory, an engineer or even the manager of a construction project. The contrast between Soviet progress and the Great Depression which was devastating Western Europe and the United States added to the sense that the Soviet Union was on the right track. Though the Soviet standard of living was very low at this time, it did seem to be improving.

Excerpted from *The Best Sons of the Fatherland*, by Lynne Viola (New York: Oxford, 1987), pp. 3, 101-102, 104-107, 159, 177, 180, 190, 200, 203.

FURTHER READING AND SOME STATISTICS

1. Roy A. Medvedev, *Let History Judge* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973). Medvedev outlines the debate within the party over what to do about the grain crisis of the late 1920s.

2. Adam Ulam in the "Introduction" to Miron Dolot, *Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1985). Ulam summarizes the conventional interpretation of the reasons for the events surrounding the Soviet collectivization campaign.

3. Lynne Viola, *The Best Sons of the Fatherland: Workers in the Vanguard of the Soviet Collectivization* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). A detailed account of this era using Soviet archival material. There are many moving stories of individuals whose initial sentiments were enthusiasm for the collectivization.

4. Robert Conquest, *The Harvest of Sorrow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). The Stanford University professor has written the premier study of this period in the Soviet revolution. He includes material on the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and other regions. In addition, he estimates that in the period from 1930-1933, 14.5 million people died in the dekulakization and famine. These numbers summarize his findings on the death toll:

Deaths from famine	7. million
Deaths from dekulakization	6.5 million
Deaths from Kazakh collectivization	1. million
	14.5 million

Broken down differently:

Deaths of peasants during collectivization	11. million
Deaths in labor camps	3.5 million
	14.5 million

ACCOUNT OF UKRAINIAN COLLECTIVIZATION

In one of the most frightening and gripping accounts of the horrors of the collectivization of agriculture and the famine, Miron Dolot, a young boy living in the Ukraine at this time, compared it to the serfdom of earlier centuries. Farmers were tied to the land and not free. He also saw it as genocide against the Ukrainian people. There are estimates of from 5 to 7 million deaths during the four years of the collectivization in the Ukraine.

Dolot admits that the idea of agriculture cooperatives was not a communist idea or unknown to Ukrainians. Cooperatives had existed as free organizations of farmers in the Ukraine as elsewhere in Europe, America, and the Middle East. However, toward the end of 1929, rumors of forced collectivization brought concern to the people of his village. Soon government and Party officials began to show up in the village and to speak enthusiastically about collectivization. Comrade Zeitlin was the 25,000er (the professors, teachers, and factory workers who carried out the collectivization for the Party) assigned to their village. The chairman of the Bread Procurement Commission was a semiliterate neighbor and the only known Communist in the village, Ivan Khizhniak. The following description comes from Dolot's account of his family's experience.

* * * * *

We finally went to bed after midnight. As soon as we had put out the lights, we heard an energetic pounding at the front door. The knock was repeated, and a stranger's voice demanded that we open the door. "The Bread Procurement Commission," a voice announced from outside.

We already had heard about the notorious deeds of this commission, and we rushed to comply with their demand. But before we could, there was a crash—the strangers burst into our house. It was dark, and my mother went to light the petroleum lamp.

"Surprise is my weakness! Ha, ha, ha," said the voice that had commanded us to open the door. "I am just delighted to see you! But where are you? Ha, ha, ha..."

It was Comrade Khizhniak.

When Mother lit the lamp, we saw that four men, two women, and one boy, the messenger, were standing in front of her. One of the men held a rifle as if he were expecting a rabbit to hop out from under the bed. We knew all of them personally. Comrade Khizhniak was drunk, and his lips and jaws moved slowly in a stutter. He could not stand up straight. We were frightened, and instinctively my older brother and I moved closer to our mother.

"How do you do, comrades?" Mother said in a trembling voice.

Comrade Khizhniak stepped closer to her. "A lot of water has passed under the bridge since we last met each other," he blurted out. "Isn't it sweet to get an unexpected night visit, eh?"

"Glad to see you, comrades," Mother continued, regaining her strength and confidence. "What can I do for you? Please sit down."

The lamp hung in the east corner of the living room. In the farmer's tradition, this corner was a sacred place. Icons hung there on the walls. From the ceiling hung an icon lamp with its ever-burning oil as a symbol of light. A piece of blessed bread lay on one of the icons as a symbol of God's generosity. We faced Comrade Khizhniak and his commission from this corner. My brother Serhiy stood at my mother's left side, and I stood at her right.

Excerpted from *Execution by Hunger: The Hidden Holocaust*, by Miron Dolot (New York: W.W. Norton, 1985). Used with the permission of W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. Copyright © 1985 by Miron Dolot.

Comrade Khizhniak seemed not to have heard what Mother said; he stretched out his hands with the intention of embracing her. She stepped back, and he grabbed her in a shameless way. She slapped his face with all her might. "Swine, get away from me," she cried.

Quickly, Comrade Khizhniak grabbed for his gun. I quickly jumped in front of Mother, and Serhiy grabbed Khizhniak. A shot was fired. The bullet hit the icon, and the glass splintered.

The shot was so unexpected that all seemed paralyzed. A woman member of the commission, gazing at the broken icon, started to cry. My younger brother screamed at the top of his voice. I tried to comfort my Mother as Serhiy wrestled with Comrade Khizhniak, who was trying to shoot again....

"You are a strong lad, eh! You are a very strong lad, indeed," he said. "Our beloved fatherland needs strong fellows like you. Isn't it a great fortune to have such a strong young generation?"

He then turned to the man with the rifle, signaling him to step closer. Then he turned to my brother again. "Well, well," he continued in the same manner. "Our socialist fatherland needs strong people...." Then, taking a dignified pose, and in a haughty military manner, he pronounced: "In the name of our beloved Communist Party and our people's government, I declare you under arrest for physical assault on an official representative of the Party and government while he was performing his official duty." He then ordered the man with the rifle to take my brother into his custody.

My mother could not hide her despair. Crying, she attempted to hold on to Serhiy with both hands, but being too weak to struggle against four men, she fainted. When she regained consciousness, Serhiy was gone.

A few minutes later, after mother came to, Khizhniak continued his "business" as though nothing had happened. "Well," he began, "as you already know, we came here on a serious business matter. On official business, as our comrade has said," he smilingly nodded to the former. "And, indeed, it is very serious."

Mother rose to her feet and brushed back her hair. "Before you start your official business, whatever it is, I demand a warrant for the arrest of my son," she said in a clear voice. We were all amazed.

"I'm only a helpless widow," she continued. "You can do what you want with me, for I do not have any strength to defend myself. But as long as I am alive, I protest against your intrusion into my house."

Such a protestation was unheard of. The punishment for saying such things was a sentence of life imprisonment or death. No one would even think of demanding permission for arrest or search from an official. Mother's demand touched off hysterical laughter from Comrade Khizhniak and his lieutenants. Then he moved closer to us. "Look, sister, don't try to scare me. No one can scare me. I've been in tight spots before..."

"I know what you mean," Mother said, without changing the tone of her voice. "Nevertheless, as a citizen, I demand justice and my rights."

"Now," he pointed the gun at us: "Now, most loyal and patriotic citizen, you are under arrest. You, too!" He pointed at me with the gun, laughing. We were ordered to turn toward the wall and stand there.

The commission started its official business of searching for something. Comrade Khizhniak, still playing with his gun, seemed to like his business very much. He even looked inside the stove. After they finished their search in the storage room, Comrade Khizhniak went into the room where Mother kept her clothing and relics in a locked trunk. We soon heard a shot.

Mother and I ran into the room. Comrade Khizhniak was opening the trunk. Not bothering to ask for the key, he destroyed the lock. Mykola, my younger brother, was crying in the corner behind the bed. As Mother and I appeared on the threshold of the room, Khizhniak raised his gun and fired it over our heads. "Stay in your place," he ordered. We left, and he closed the door behind us.

After a while, Comrade Khizhniak came out. In one hand he held a book, in the other, jewels—if this is the right word for the keepsakes of a farm woman. They were mementos of my mother's girlhood.

"Well, Comrade Citizen, will you kindly explain to me what these mean?"

Mother answered: "The book is the Bible and those things are just what you see."

"From whom were you hiding them?" He pointed to his findings. "How did you come by these things?"

"You know those things are mine!" Mother answered angrily.

In vain she tried to explain to him that the Bible had not been hidden; that she had had the jewelry for a long time, from before the revolution, and that in her own house she did not have to hide her own belongings.

"The Bible," Khizhniak said, "had been hidden with the purpose of propagating religion, and the jewels did not belong to you, but to your in-laws. A kurkul will always be a kurkul," he proclaimed meaningfully.

Then he explained that all three of my uncles had been declared kurkuls and arrested. Tomorrow they would be banished from the village and their property expropriated. The commission's "business" in our house was to find anything that my uncles might have hidden in our home. After a thorough search, the commission left.

Confused and frightened, our only thoughts were of Serhiy and our three uncles....

The court then proceeded to broaden the accusations against Serhiy. Comrade Zeitlin called him a counterrevolutionary, an enemy of the people, and demanded that his case be submitted to the higher court and to the security agencies. Everything was done as Comrade Zeitlin ordered.

Serhiy was escorted from court by two militiamen. It was the last time we saw him. All the convicted were taken away from the village the following morning. None returned. After two years had passed, we received an anonymous letter. The unknown writer informed us that Serhiy had died from torture and exhaustion while digging the Baltic Sea—White Sea Canal.

After the arrest of my brother and my three uncles and their families, our lives became harsh and grim. We felt lonelier and more afraid than ever before. We were now alone, without any relatives. But we were never left alone by the village officials. We felt their constant presence like a heavy weight. Evening or morning, day or night, they were always with us. We continually had to listen to long speeches about the merits of collective farms. We had to undergo strenuous interrogations about why we hadn't joined the collective farm, and about our possessions. There was no end to the officials' visits to our home. The Bread Procurement commission would come almost every day....

One afternoon at the beginning of March 1930, my mother was called to our Hundred. Comrade Khizhniak was there, sitting at the table alone and playing with his gun. He did not greet us or ask us to take a seat....

"Now, my most loyal Soviet citizen," he continued sarcastically, "I have heard that you haven't yet joined the collective farm. I just can't believe that." He stopped for a moment, but as soon as Mother started to say something, he went on in a serious tone: "You aren't going to wage war against us, are you?"

Then he picked up his gun and again started to play with it. First he looked into its barrel. Then he took out the ejector rod and started to poke it in his ears. After a while, he put it back, and then looked at us. "We have this kind of thing," he waved with his gun. "Do you?"

And then he started to laugh again.... Then he jumped from his chair and, as if playing Russian roulette, he spun the drum, and put the muzzle to his temple. We watched.

"Ha, ha, ha," he laughed happily. "Would you like to see me pull the trigger?"

We kept silent—which probably irritated him, for suddenly he stopped laughing.

"If you do not join the collective farm immediately," he shouted like a madman, "I will kill you with my own gun!"

"With who else's?" Mother retorted calmly.

This remark enraged him. Keeping his gun in a firing position, he ran out from behind the table and, breathing heavily, stopped in front of us. "I'll kill you," he raved. As if to prove that he meant what he said, he started shooting into the ceiling.

...a stranger entered the room as if he had been waiting for that moment. No doubt he was a city dweller, and he definitely was not a Ukrainian for he could hardly speak a word of Ukrainian. We did not need to be told that he was a new propagandist. He was tall and well fed, with a pale face.

"Are you comfortable?" he asked my mother almost politely. I started to think that we finally had met a pleasant official. "You seem to enjoy sitting there..." he said, looking down at Mother, who remained seated. Then, without waiting for Mother's reply, he suddenly shouted: "Get up, you dirty *muzhichka!* I'll teach you how to meet a representative of the Communist Party and government!"...

The propagandist sat down at comrade Khizhniak's place and crossed his legs. He let us stand. Slowly and deliberately, he lit an expensive cigarette which he took out of his case and stared at us coldly. Then he pulled his revolver out of his holster and put it on the table.

"All right," he said, looking at us contemptuously. "What do you want?"

This was an unexpected question. We certainly didn't want anything from him. "This is what I want to ask you," Mother said. "You called me here, and I suppose you will tell me what you want from me."

He jumped to his feet. "Don't you know why you were called here?" he shouted.

"How should I know?" was Mother's answer.

His anger grew into rage. With all his might, he struck the table with his fists. His gun flew into the air from the impact and landed on the floor. He quickly grabbed it, checked it for damage, and then pointed it at Mother. "I'll kill you!" he raved like a lunatic.

For a moment, the propagandist seemed not to know what to do with the gun aimed at Mother. Then he lowered it and fired into the floor. This seemed to calm him down. Without saying a word, he went behind the table and took his previous place. For a moment he was silent. Then he lit another cigarette, and started again the same kind of interrogation as before.

Suddenly the door flew open and my younger brother burst in. He breathlessly told us that the Bread Procurement Commission had entered our house by force and had taken away whatever solid food they could find. Ignoring the propagandist who, of course, tried to stop us, we ran home as fast as we could, but it was too late. When we arrived, the members of the commission were leading the

Muzhichka is a derogatory Russian word meaning a poor, ignorant peasant woman.

cart with the grain and other food we had had in reserve. It was not much, but it would have been enough for the three of us to survive on until the new harvest. Comrade Khizhniak stood near the door, playing with his gun and smiling. His smile told us that he had outwitted us.

So we were left without food, except for some potatoes and beets buried in the ground, and we would have to wait three more months for the new crop. There was no other source from which we could obtain the necessary food.

A few hours after the commission left us, following the cart containing our grain and other food, the Ten's official visited us. He said that if we had joined the collective farm earlier, this would never have happened to us. After all, we were not kurkuls. We still would have had our bread.

"Oh, that reminds me," he said casually, on leaving our house. "The members of the collective farm receive payment for their labor in food." Saying this, he looked down at his feet, as if he were ashamed of what he was saying. "Therefore, you still have a chance to survive if you join the collective farm." He was right; there was no other alternative for us.

We did not talk much that evening. As if knowing our decision, the commission woke us up in the middle of the night. The propagandist who had interrogated us the day before was in charge. Without any formalities, he asked Mother whether she wanted to join the collective farm. She said: "Yes." He then sat down at the table under our icons and wrote the petition for her. As I recall, it said:

> Whereas the collective farm has advantages over individual farming; and whereas it is the only way to secure a prosperous and happy life, I voluntarily request the collective farm's management to accept me as a member of your collective farm.
>
> Signature

That was all. Mother silently signed it. The propagandist was all smiles while the members of the commission stood huddled in the corner as if they were at a funeral.

The next day, some people arrived in our backyard. Without any explanation, they entered the stable and barn and took away our horse, cow, wagon, plough, and other agricultural implements. Only after the loaded wagon departed, drawn by our own horse and followed by our cow, did a man enter our house. He informed us that we were now registered under the number 168, and that in the future, we should identify ourselves by this number.

REPORT OF A 25,000ER

Victor Kravchenko was a 25,000er, one of the Party workers sent into the countryside to speed the process of collectivization. In this excerpt, he describes the instructions these workers were given, as well as his growing concern with the practices being used to quell the resistance.

* * * * *

Through the Party office at the Institute I was instructed to report at the Regional Committee. The purpose: mobilization of Party brigades for work in the villages.

About eighty of us were in the conference hall, mostly younger men. A few of them I knew from association in Party activities in the last few years. All of us were tense, some of us could not conceal our worry. We were being sent into the farm districts to help collect grain and speed up the final phase of the harvest. But we felt and behaved as if we were about to plunge into the thick of a bloody war.

Comrade Hatayevich, a member of the Central Committee of the Party, made a speech. It only increased our nervousness. We had half expected to hear a technical discourse on agriculture and village economy. Instead we listened to a fiery summons to go forth and do battle in a do-or-die spirit.

"Comrades," he said, "you are going into the country for a month or six weeks. The Dniepropetrovsk Region has fallen behind. The Party and Comrade Stalin ordered us to complete collectivization by spring, and here we are at the end of summer with the task unfinished. The local village authorities need an injection of Bolshevik iron. That's why we are sending you.

"You must assume your duties with a feeling of the strictest Party responsibility, without whimpering, without any rotten liberalism. Throw your bourgeois humanitarianism out of the window and act like Bolsheviks worthy of Comrade Stalin. Beat down the kulak agent wherever he raises his head. It's war—it's them or us! The last decayed remnant of capitalist farming must be wiped out at any cost!

"Secondly, comrades, it is absolutely necessary to fulfill the government's plan for grain delivery. The kulaks, and even some middle and 'poor' peasants, are not giving up their grain. They are sabatoging the Party policy. And the local authorities sometimes waver and show weakness. Your job is to get the grain at any price. Pump it out of them, wherever it's hidden, in ovens, under beds, in cellars or buried away in back yards.

"Through you, the Party brigades, the villages must learn the meaning of Bolshevik firmness. You must find the grain and you *will* find it. It's a challenge to the last shred of your initiative and to your Chekist spirit. *Don't be afraid of taking extreme measures.* The Party stands four-square behind you. Comrade Stalin expects it of you. It's a life-and-death struggle; better to do too much than not enough.

"Your third important task is to complete the threshing of the grain, to repair the tools, plows, tractors, reapers and other equipment.

"The class struggle in the village has taken the sharpest forms. This is no time for squeamishness or rotten sentimentality. Kulak agents are masking themselves and getting into the collective farms where they sabotage the work and kill the livestock. What's required from you is Bolshevik alertness, intransigence and courage. I am sure you will carry out the instructions of the Party and the directions of our beloved Leader."

The final words, conveying a threat, were drowned in obedient applause.

Excerpted from *I Chose Freedom*, by Victor Kravchenko (New York: Scribner's, 1946), pp. 87, 91-92, 97-98, 102-106.

* * * * *

The author, and a naive man, Seryozha Tsvetkov, were sent to the village of Podgorodnoye, along with a man named Arshinov, who was to be in charge of their work there. Arshinov insisted that they all carry guns (Mausers). The author was given a room in a peasant's house. They offered him a very simple meal and he, Tsvetkov. and the family began to talk.

* * * * *

"What's your little son's name?" I asked. I had watched the boy, who was unnaturally silent and melancholy. Even the candy, which he munched without enthusiasm, failed to stir his interest.

"Vasya," the boy answered my question, and suddenly left the room.

"He's no son of ours," the host explained. "He is—how shall I put it?—an orphan of collectivization?... But don't ask the boy anything. He's still stunned by the blow. Every evening he goes back to his house and wanders around the yard for hours. We try to tell him, 'What's the sense of tormenting yourself?' but he keeps going back."

"What happened? Tell us."

"I don't know whether I should. You're new people, and besides you're from the government.... Well, I'll take a chance on you. Both of you look decent. Besides, I'm too old to be afraid. Only it would be a pity if anything happened to my daughter." He told us the story:

"About ten houses away from here lived the Vorvans—man, wife, and one child, the very Vasya you saw here. They were a happy family. They worked hard. They were good people. Not kulaks—only a couple of horses, a cow, a pig, a few chickens, like everybody else. No matter how much 'they' argued with him, he wouldn't join the collective.

"All his remaining grain was taken away. Again they argued and threatened. But he wouldn't budge. 'It's my land,' he kept saying, 'my animals, my house and I won't give them up to the government.' Then people came from the city—the people in charge of exiling honest folks from their homes. They made a record of his property and took everything away, down to the last pot and towel, while the implements and lifestock were turned over to the collective.

"Vorvan was declared a kulak...in the evening they came to arrest him. His wife and boy began to weep and yell and the man wouldn't go. So they beat him until he bled all over and dragged him out of the house, through the mire, all the way down the street to the village Soviet. His woman ran after them yelling, wailing and calling on the people and on God to help her. We all ran out but no one could do anything against armed guards, though we knew Vorvan was no kulak and we all liked him.

"The unfortunate woman kept shouting, 'Who's going to take care of us, Piotr? Where are they taking you, the beasts, the infidels!' One of the G.P.U. men pushed her so hard she sprawled in the mud, while they dragged Vorvan off to the cattle cars. Where he is now, only God knows. We took the woman back to her house and tried to comfort her. Finally she fell asleep and we all left. [In the morning, they found the woman had hanged herself.] All of this happened no more than a month ago....

"After what happened to the Vorvans, my woman and I talked it over and decided to join the *kolkhoz*...voluntarily."

We sat there silent for a long time. The fate of the Vorvans touched me in a way that statistics of deportations and deaths could not.

"Thank you, daddy, for your trust in us," Tsvetkov finally said. "You may be sure I will not betray it. Please believe me that not all Communists are the same. Some of us are as opposed to such things as you are, and the Party itself is opposed."

* * * * *

[several weeks later]

I asked Tsvetkov how he was getting along with Arshinov.

"He's a son of a bitch and a sadist, Victor Andreyevich. I hesitated to tell you about it but I can't keep quiet any longer. The beast drags the peasants from their homes in the dead of night, swears at them, threatens them with his Mauser [gun]. I've been told he even beats them up brutally."

"Why in hell didn't you tell me sooner? Get dressed, let's go!"

Through the wooden shutters I could see lights in the Soviet building. We found peasants squatting on the floor. There was an armed sentry at the door and a village constable with a revolver was sitting inside, smoking. As I entered I heard the cries of a peasant and the swearing of Arshinov behind the closed office door.

"Why are all the people here at this hour" I asked the constable, my voice shrill with anger.

He jumped to his feet. "As usual," he said, "Comrade Arshinov is pumping grain and having a little talk with those who won't join the collective farm."

Suddenly Arshinov's voice rose to a hysterical pitch, a heavy object crashed to the floor, and we could hear the peasant groaning: "Why are you beating me? You have no right to beat me...." Then Arshinov yelled, "Constable, throw this trash into the cooler. I'll teach you, you kulak rat!"

The constable rushed toward the adjoining room. I caught him by the arm. "Stay here," I said, "I'll go in myself."

I swung open the door. Arshinov was startled. He bit his lips, fidgeted in his chair and made a motion to remove his pistol from the table. The peasant sprawled on the floor was an old man, in ragged clothes, his face streaked with blood. I motioned him to leave. I walked up to Arshinov, I could scarcely restrain myself from using my fists on him.

"Let the peasants go!" I shouted. "And immediately, do you hear?"

"I'm in charge here, Comrade Kravchenko. I'll thank you to take your nose out of my business."

"No, this is Party business. As a Communist I won't have you dishonor the Soviet power by acting like a sadist and barbarian, Comrade Tsvetkov," I called into the outer room, "please take down the name of the old man who's just been beaten up, also the constable's name.... [turning back to Arshinov] It's people like you who discredit the Party and the country. Constable! Let everyone go! Comrade peasants, if anyone is beaten up again make sure to tell me. It's against the law."

Tsvetkov came into the office. He was pale as a ghost. His hands trembled. I ordered him to go home and wait for me. Then I turned to Arshinov:

"Look here, Arshinov, do you realize what you're doing? Is this collectivization or is it banditry with the help of a Mauser? You have a right to demand grain and to search premises if necessary. But you have no right to use violence and to carry on nocturnal inquisitions. If you don't want to get into trouble with the Regional Comittee, you will stop this sort of thing. Otherwise I shall expose you, whatever the cost. Do you understand?"

I turned and left. Seryozha was not yet home. I was worried about him. But in about half an hour he arrived.

"I've been at the hut of the peasant who was beaten up," he told me. "He has a sick wife, five children and not a crumb of bread in the house. His house reeks of poverty and despair. And that's what

we call a kulak! The kids are in rags and tatters. They all look like ghosts. I saw the pot on the oven—a few potatoes in water. That was their supper tonight.

"Here, Victor"—he showed me a dirty scrap of paper—"the old man has given me a declaration of his willingness to enter the Kolkhoz. I begged him to stop being bull-headed, to take pity on his family. Finally he agreed."

* * * * *

On Tuesday afternoon I went into the fields where the women were husking the corn and stacking it in wagons. I joined in the work—and the songs—for a few hours, enjoying the physical exertion.... The women pretended to be amused by my amateur work in husking, but they were clearly flattered that "the government" had come down to their humble level.

Evening was falling when I drove into the village, with several companions. Immediately we realized that something was happening. Agitated groups stood around. Women were weeping. I hurried to the Soviet building.

"What's happening?" I asked the constable.

"Another round-up of kulaks," he replied. "Seems the dirty business will never end. The G.P.U. and District Committee people came this morning."

Inside the Soviet building, Arshinov was talking to a G.P.U. official. Buth of them were smiling, apparently exchanging pleasantries of some sort. In the back yard, guarded by G.P.U. soldiers with drawn revolvers, stood about twenty peasants, young and old, with bundles on their backs. A few of them were weeping. The others stood there sullen, resigned, hopeless.

So this was "liquidation of the kulaks as a class"! A lot of simple peasants being torn from their native soil, stripped of all their worldly goods, and shipped to some distant lumber camps or irrigation works. For some reason, on this occasion, most of the families were being left behind. Their outcries filled the air....

As I stood there, distressed, ashamed, helpless, I heard a woman shouting in an unearthly voice. Everyone looked in the direction of her cry and a couple of G.P.U. men started running towards her. The woman held a flaming sheaf of grain in her hands. Before anyone could reach her, she had tossed the burning sheaf onto the thatched room of the house, which burst into flame instantaneously.

"Infidels! murderers!" the distaught woman was shrieking. "We worked all our lives for our house. You won't have it. The flames will have it!" Her cries turned suddenly into crazy laughter.

Peasants rushed into the burning house and began to drag out furniture. There was something macabre, unreal, about the whole scene—the fire, the wailing, the demented woman, the peasants being dragged through the mud and hearded together for deportation. The most unearthly touch of all, for me, was the sight of Arshinov and the G.P.U. officer looking on calmly, as if this were all routine, as if the burning hut were a bonfire for their amusement.

* * * * *

At home I paced my narrow room in mounting agitation and despair. I had planned to protest against Arshinov to the District Committee of the Party. But here were representatives of the Committee, along with the G.P.U., indulging in the same kind of brutality....

The suspicion that the horrors were not accidental, but planned and sanctioned by the highest authorities, had been sprouting in my mind. This night it flowered into a certainty that left me, for the moment, emptied of hope. The shame of it had been easier to bear as long as I could blame Arshinov and other individuals.

I fell asleep, in sheer fatigue, without taking off my clothes. When I opened my eyes, some hours later, I was alarmed by the fact that Seryozha was not in his bed. I rushed into the yard, then into the garden.

"Who's there?" I heard Seryozha's voice and caught the gleam of a revolver. He was sitting on a bench under the cherry tree. I was near him in one leap and wrenched the revolver from his hand. Seryozha buried his face in his palms. He shook with sobs.

"You're a fool," I said, "and a weakling. I'm not at all proud of you. Whom will you help by shooting yourself? That's stupidity. It's not the answer, Seryozha. We must keep alive and do what we can to lighten the burden of our Russian people. If we destroy ourselves, only the Arshinovs will remain."

He calmed down a little and looked into my eyes. "Victor Andreyevich, I have seen everything and I understand everything. Politically, I am a head taller than I was. There's no point in fooling ourselves. The Party itself is guilty of inhumanity, violence, murder. The fine phrases in our speeches are just camouflage for the awful realities. Was this what my good-hearted father [an early Party member] labored for all his life? Was this what I myself believed in ever since I joined the Party?"

* * * * *

Before he left, the author spoke with the board of the new collective farm.

* * * * *

"Now that the harvest is all gathered in, I suppose you can figure what you'll receive for your labor?" I said to the board members.

"Yes, we've figured and figured," the president said, shaking his head sadly. "It comes out about 1200 grams [about 2 1/2 pounds] of grain for each day worked by each collective farmer. We worked only part of the year and this payment must last for the farmer and his family for a whole year. How to stretch 1200 grams to feed a family until the next harvest is something only God—and maybe your Party—can figure out."

"I suppose we'll all die of hunger," another added bitterly.

Probably he did not mean this literally. How was he to guess that nearly the whole population in this village of Podgorodnoye would be wiped out by famine in the year to come? How was he to guess that the authorities would take away even some of the grain to which they were entitled for their work?

13. STALIN ON TRIAL: AN INSTRUCTIONAL RESOURCE UNIT IN HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION AND MORAL REASONING

Introduction:

This activity provides teachers of Soviet history with resources and guidelines for a motivational unit on the era of Stalin. The class is asked to "pretend" that Joseph Stalin is to be brought before a Soviet tribunal. During the trial, the court will be presented with evidence on his alleged crimes and any other evidence, such as mitigating historical circumstances, the defense cares to bring forward. The "Soviet tribunal" can be conducted in accord with American constitutional traditions, legal values, and procedures. The degree to which correct legal procedure is followed is at the teacher's discretion; **this is not a unit on the Soviet legal system.**

The unit focuses on the central issues raised by Chairman Nikita Khrushchev in the so-called Secret Speech, in which he denounced the *cult of personality* and the notorious excesses of Stalinism. As the unit develops, the students will confront the following questions: (1) Was Stalin a natural and inevitable successor to the autocratic rulers of imperial Russia? (2) Was Stalin an evil and deviant individual, or did he do what was necessary to reform and lead a "Third Revolution" from above?

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. List the fundamental issues associated with Stalin's so-called Third Revolution.

2. Identify the components of Stalin's totalitarianism.

3. Make judgments on the moral issues relating to Stalin's dictatorship and to the factors relating to the use and misuse of power (*vlast'*) and authority in Russian history.

4. Gather sound legal and historical evidence.

5. Compare and contrast the political institutions of traditional Russian and Soviet societies.

6. Identify the historical antecedents to Stalin's totalitarianism.

Materials and Preparation: This unit should be employed after the students have studied the revolutions of 1917 and their immediate aftermath. Prior to its use, the class should be introduced to the major events of the Stalin years. During this preliminary work, the teacher should present Stalin's Five-Year Plans, indicating that these policies represented a new revolutionary phase.

Most historians agree that 1928 marked the onset of a Third Revolution. Though the moral ground is decidely unsteady, the teacher must adopt a devil's advocate approach for the lesson to move forward, putting forth the idea that the Soviet Union either had to modernize quickly or go under.

You will need copies of the handouts provided with the activity. Before the actual trial begins, you will need to arrange the classroom in typical courtroom fashion, with a panel of judges in the front of the room, tables for prosecution and defense lawyers, and a separate "box" for Stalin. Witnesses and spectators may be seated in other areas of the room. Recorders and bailiffs could also be added. Pictures of Lenin and Marx, as well as a Soviet flag, would add authenticity. Teachers unfamiliar with mock trials can find resources in *Law in the Classroom* (available from the SSEC) and through the resources of the Constitutional Rights Foundation and Social Studies School Service, whose catalogue can be found in virtually any high school social studies department. The best source of information is often the local bar association, which may offer free materials and assistance.

Activity developed by Richard M. Verrill, Milford Area High School, Milford, New Hampshire.

Time Required: 1 week. Depending on the length of the class, as well as the cases made by the prosecution and defense, it should take approximately three days for the trial, one to read the charges and make opening statements, one to hear the prosecution and defense witnesses. On the third day the verdict should be handed down by the tribunal, with sentencing, if appropriate.

Procedure:

1. Tell students that they are going to conduct a mock trial of Joseph Stalin. Students will assume the roles of judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, and witnesses. Distribute Handout 13-1 and assign the roles to students. As the prosecution and defense teams prepare their presentations, they may not need all the witnesses available. At the time of the trial, the extra witnesses can serve as recorders, bailiffs, historians/reporters, and spectators.

2. Distribute Handout 13-2 to give students an idea of how the trial will be conducted. Explain that students will have two class periods in which to conduct research and plan their presentations. The judges should also research Stalin's actions to provide data on which they can base questions for the prosecutors and defense.

3. As the students prepare for the trial, the defense will find their task daunting, to say the least. These students will therefore need more assistance in order for the exercise to go forward. Handout 13-3, providing excerpts from a Stalin speech, will be helpful; the teacher should also suggest the following observations:

- It was obvious to the leadership of the USSR that industrial growth and modernization were needed. There was also a keen awareness that economic weakness detracted from the Soviet Union's overall security posture.
- In the light of the horrors of the famine in the Ukraine, which now appears to have been the result of deliberate policy, it might be pointed out that such a manufactured disaster was not without precedent in tsarist Russia. W. Bruce Lincoln's *In War's Dark Shadow* provides academic background on industrialization under the Romanovs.
- The regime naturally feared counter-revolution and the return of "rapacious" capitalists who might undermine the efforts to create a Socialist state.
- There was indignation over the fact that the USSR was still considered by most Western powers as a pariah nation (e.g., lack of formal diplomatic recognition on the part of the United States); the world—it seems—had always been comfortable with the idea of a backward Russia. Only strength could change these perceptions.
- Consider the victims of the Industrial Revolution, and think of the underclass Dickens wrote about. It soon becomes apparent to a radical that the cost of progress might very well be measured in pain. Revolution provides solutions, and productive revolutions, their enthusiasts would be quick to point out, are not tea parties. Refer to episodes of the French Revolution, for example. Even in the American Revolution, Tories were frequently forced to suffer public humiliation, loss of their property, or being hounded into emigrating to Canada.
- In order for the many to be protected and improved in times of great social upheaval, the lives of refractory groups should rightfully be forfeit.
- The defense may also want to consider an insanity defense. Their strategy can be mapped out on Handout 13-4.

4. Conduct the mock trial. If possible, you might want to videotape the trial for later discussion.

5. After the verdict (and sentence, if appropriate) have been announced, conduct a class discussion using the following questions:

- Where would you draw the line in determining what was and what was not acceptable on the part of Stalin? Which, if any, of his actions against his opposition were justified? Explain how you have arrived at your conclusions.

- Why do you think Soviet leaders attacked Stalin after his death? (You may want to note that Brezhnev also was attacked after his death.) What does that suggest to you about both Stalin and the Soviet outlook on the past?
- Would you argue that Stalin was mentally unsound? Do you believe accounts of his irrationality and paranoia? What evidence supports the judgment that he was severely unbalanced?
- Why might some Soviets today think of Stalin as a "good leader"?
- Why do you think that very few of those who acted as accomplices or assisted Stalin in the purges were ever punished for their actions?
- How would you compare Stalin to Hitler? Which was more excessive? How did each contribute to the idea and methods of the totalitarian state?
- If YOU were sentencing Stalin after our trial (assuming he was found guilty), what do you think a just punishment would be? Explain.
- Based on what you know of Soviet history, do you think it reasonable to expect that Stalinism might rise again?

Evaluation:

Assign each student to write a brief of the trial (Handout 13-4) for evaluation purposes.

Enrichment/Extension:

Use the videotape of the trial as a subject for further discussion.

References:

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Von Laue, Theodore H., "Stalin in Focus," *Slavic Review* 42, no. 3 (Fall 1983). Provides excellent arguments for the defense.

ROLES

Stalin—In the trial, you *must* appear on the witness stand at least once. Try to find out about Stalin's personality, character, and mannerisms so you can play him accurately. You should also be familiar with his policies and actions.

Panel of Judges (3-5)—One student will act as presiding officer. Your group should be familiar with Stalin's record so you can ask questions.

State Prosecutor—This state attorney should be assisted by the Procurator General of the USSR and his staff. In the Soviet system of law, the Procurator investigates the case. His office and that of the state prosecutor are separate. The prosecution must put together the indictments or charges (Handout 13-4) and is responsible for overseeing all phases of the state's case: determining what evidence will be introduced, which witnesses are to be called, and so on. A key responsibility is to direct cross-examinations and prepare opening and closing statements.

Attorney for the Defense (and assistants)—You are responsible for cross-examination of prosecution witnesses, calling witnesses for the defense, preparing opening and closing statements, and so on.

Prosecution Witnesses—Drawing from historical sources and reference materials, the State Prosecutor can call any number of real people, plus hypothetical citizens who lived under the Stalinist regime. The following personalities are suggested: N.S. Khrushchev, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, Roy Medvedev, Leon Trotsky, Nadezhda Krupskaya (Lenin's wife), Nikolai Bukharin, Anton Atonov-Oveyenko, *kulak* victims of collectivization, Red Army officers, members of various ethnic minorities.

Defense Witnesses—Other than Stalin himself, these might include Khrushchev (if not called by the prosecution), Stalin's daughter Svetlana Alliluyeva, historians such as Theodore Von Laue, Robespierre, Molotov or other Stalinists, veterans of the Great Patriotic War, or people who today are shocked by the disorder in the USSR and remember Stalin as the provider of order.

SEQUENCE OF TRIAL

1. The presiding judge reads the charges against Stalin.
2. The attorney for the defense enters a plea of not guilty.
3. The prosecution makes its opening statement.
4. The defense makes its opening statement.
5. The first prosecution witness is called, questioned, and cross-examined. Additional prosecution witnesses are called and cross-examined in turn.
6. The first defense witness is called, examined, and cross-examined. Additional defense witnesses are called and cross-examined in turn.
7. The defense makes its closing statement.
8. The prosecution makes its closing statement.
9. The judges deliberate (discuss the case) and reach a decision.
10. The verdict is handed down. If the verdict is guilty, there should be a clear definition of the nature of Stalin's guilt and a sentence should be pronounced.

STALIN'S WORDS

The following are quotations selected from "The Tasks of Business Executives," a speech delivered by Stalin at the First All-Union Conference of Leading Personnel of Socialist Industry (February 4, 1931):

> Actually the increase in industrial output during 1930 amounted to 25 percent. We must ask: will not the same thing occur again this year? The managers and leading personnel of our industries now promise to increase industrial output in 1931 by 45 percent. But what guarantee is there that this promise will be kept?
>
> In the history of states and countries, in the history of armies, there have been cases when there was every possibility for success and victory, but these possibilities were wasted because the leaders failed to notice them, did not know how to take advantage of them, and the armies suffered defeat.
>
> What else is needed? That this government should enjoy the *support* [Stalin's emphasis] of the vast masses of workers and peasants. Does our government enjoy such support? Yes, it does!
>
> Our superiority lies in the fact that we have no crises of overproduction, we have not and never will have millions of unemployed, and we have no anarchy in production, for we are conducting a planned economy.
>
> Our weakness in the past was that [our] industry was based upon scattered and small peasant farming. That *was* so in the past. It is no longer so now. Soon, perhaps within a year, we shall become the country of the largest-scale agriculture in the world. This year the state farms and collective farms—and these are forms of large-scale farming—have already supplied half of all our marketable grain. And that means that our system, the Soviet System, affords us opportunities of rapid progress of which no single bourgeois country can dream.
>
> It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo somewhat, to put a check on the movement. No, comrades, it is not possible! The tempo must not be reduced! On the contrary, we must increase it as much as is within our powers and possibilities. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the USSR. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world.
>
> To slacken the tempo would mean falling behind. And those who fall behind get beaten. But we do not want to be beaten. No, we refuse to be beaten! One feature of the history of old Russia was the continual beatings she suffered because of her backwardness. She was beaten by the Mongol khans. She was beaten by the Turkish beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal lords. She was beaten by the Polish and Lithuanian gentry. She was beaten by the British and French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons.
>
> All beat her—because of her backwardness, because of her military backwardness, cultural backwardness, political backwardness, industrial backwardness, agricultural backwardness. They beat her because to do so was profitable and could be done with impunity.... That is why we must no longer lag behind.

TRIAL BRIEF
PEOPLE'S COMMISSARIAT OF JUSTICE OF THE U.S.S.R.

On this date _____, the Accused _____ is herein charged with the following violation(s) of the criminal code of the Russian Socialist Federative Socialist Republic of the workers' and peasants' state of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

Signed:_____ Date:_____

Procurator General, U.S.S.R.

Signed:_____ Date:_____

State Procurator, R.S.F.S.R.

TRIAL OF J. STALIN

Defense Team (representing Stalin or the State) Date:_____

Members and Roles:

1. Chief Attorney(s)

2. Assistants

3. Witnesses

Charges:

Plea:

Outline of Case:

A. Summary of opening arguments:

B. Witnesses to be called and purpose of each:

C. Additional evidence (statements and physical evidence):

D. Summary of closing arguments:

14. COMPARING TEXTBOOK ACCOUNTS OF WORLD WAR II AND THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Introduction:

Most students are unaware of the value-laden business of writing history. With the recent public revisions of history in the USSR, it is timely to examine closely our own sources, preconceptions, and—perhaps—our smugness. The following lesson asks students to read selections from Soviet and American textbooks on the origins of World War II and to compare them on several levels: How are the accounts different in terms of the facts? What are the biases of each account? On what points do some or all agree? Students should discover for themselves as many differences and similarities as possible. At every level of expertise or preparation, students will find something unexpected and illuminating.

Using a number of different American history texts adds an important dimension to the exercise. What follows is designed for a tenth-grade or older history class with some background in Soviet studies or at least acquaintance with the history of communism and the Cold War. Though copyright circumstances have prevented a verbatim reproduction of the Soviet texts, neither meaning, linguistic color, nor ideological implications have been sacrificed in the excerpts provided for the student.

This lesson could introduce a unit on 20th-century Soviet studies, could fit into the middle of a unit, or could provide a means of summing up the unit.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Identify conflicts in American and Soviet accounts of the same time period and events.

2. Read critically, recognizing historical and political contexts of such writings.

3. Discover possible explanations for contradictions, disparities, and distortions.

Materials and Preparation: You will need copies of the handouts provided with the activity.

Time Required: At least one homework assignment will be required for each of the two subjects (i.e., World War II and the Cuban Missile Crisis). The discussion of each set of excerpts will take at least a full period; more time would be needed for a good in-depth analysis.

Procedure:

1. Give students Handout 14-1 (except for the final page) and assign the readings. Point out to students that some of the excerpts are paraphrased because of the difficulty of obtaining copyright releases. Every effort has been made to retain the meaning of the original. Let the students grapple with the material on their own before any other significant introduction on your part. Direct students to write down particular inconsistencies, contradictions, emphases they discover. Ask them to speculate on the reasons for such things. Don't tell them that some of the excerpts are Soviet and some are American; this should clearly emerge in the ensuing discussions. Note that some American texts incorrectly use "Russia/Russians" interchangeably with "Soviet Union/Soviets." See if any students catch this error. It provides an opportunity to reinforce the distinction currently so important for Soviet politics.

2. Conduct a class discussion, using the questions on Handout 14-2 or those that follow:
   - What important similarities do you find among the accounts in general or in particular?

Activity developed by Scott Herrick, University Preparatory Academy, Seattle, Washington.

- What are the differences in tone among them?
- What important facts are omitted or conveyed in ways that seemed biased?
- Where do you find bias? Dogma?
- Which account do you find the most credible? Why?
- Note the dates on the sources. Do you think accounts have changed in the past several years? Why or why not?

3. Repeat the procedure for the excerpts on the Cuban Missile Crisis (Handout 14-3).

Evaluation:

Students can prepare written responses to the questions on Handouts 14-2 and 14-4 as an evaluation device.

Enrichment/Extension:

1. Ask each individual to write his or her own account as a homework assignment. The next day, divide the class into small groups and ask each group, during class, to write an account of the same historical event or period as a committee. The following day, discuss the differences between these and the individual accounts. What problems arise when working as a committee? What are the benefits?

2. Ask students to find an old American history textbook and compare it with one now used in your school. What are the differences? What might account for these differences?

3. Divide the class into smaller groups and have each group write its own version of the events described or of an event with which they are familiar. If students are aware of what is currently going on in the Baltic republics or elsewhere in the USSR, have the class write an account of the history of one republic and compare it with the official Soviet version. There is lots of room for creativity in such an exercise.

4. Ask students to choose an event described differently in two of the accounts and find out more about the event. Which of the accounts do they now believe is more accurate? Students might write their own version of the event's history.

5. Discuss the role of textbooks. How might they differ from the account of an individual historian? Are they "objective"? Should they be? Why might an American textbook differ from a Soviet one? a British one?

READINGS ON THE ORIGINS OF WORLD WAR II

Reading 1:

The war resulted from the efforts of three nations—Germany, Italy, and Japan...to conquer and control new territories. These nations developed what are called totalitarian governments. Their basic principle was that the state was everything, the individual citizen nothing. Totalitarian governments stamped out opposition. The only political party was controlled by the state. All power was in the hands of one leader, or dictator. They claimed absolute authority over the lives of their citizens...Fighting the Great War to make the world safe for democracy now seemed a terrible mistake. The totalitarian governments that arose after the war were enemies of democracy...In the summer of 1939, Germany invaded Poland. Great Britain and France then declared war on Germany. The Soviet Union, which had signed a non-aggression pact with Germany, seized the Eastern part of Poland. In a little more than a month, Poland was swallowed up.

Reading 2:

During the years following World War I, the long shadow of fascism fell across Europe. Fascism was the view that individuals existed only to serve the military goals of the state. Under fascist dictators, individual rights and freedoms were ruthlessly crushed. First in Italy and then in Germany and Spain, dictators came to power. Economic conditions were partly to blame. The Great Depression had struck Europe with devastating force. Foreign trade declined, unemployment soared, and many nations stood one step away from economic collapse....Forthwith, the light of democracy gave way to the darkness of terrorism, fear, and the repression of the police state....At this point, Hitler surprised the world by negotiating a non-aggression pact with the Soviet Union...The two nations pledged not to attack each other. A secret section of the treaty also permitted the Soviets to occupy the Baltic states, Bessarabia, and a portion of Eastern Poland...World War II had begun.

Reading 3:

The collapse of disarmament was accompanied by a deterioration in American relations with the leading anti-Hitler powers....An important faction in the British Cabinet, led by Neville Chamberlain, the chancellor of the exchequer, so deeply distrusted the U.S. that in 1934 it seriously considered whether Britain should base its strategy on cooperation with Japan instead of the U.S....Roosevelt's efforts to establish relations with the Soviet Union were hardly more successful. Support for the recognition of the communist regime had been growing for some time before 1933. Businessmen saw in Russia a market for surplus American production..."The world," Cordell Hull told Roosevelt, "is moving into a dangerous period both in Europe and Asia. Russia could be a great help in stabilizing the situation." In October 1933, Maxim Litvinov, the Soviet commissar for foreign affairs, came to Washington to work out a set of agreements. In one document Litvinov gave a remarkably detailed pledge to refrain from any intervention in American internal affairs—a pledge that covered not only the Soviet government itself but any organization "under its direct or indirect control." ...Despite this beginning, relations soon returned to a state of mistrust. The attempt to make the Soviet government live up to its promises on propaganda and debts led to interminable negotiation, recrimination, and frustration. American representatives in Moscow encountered harrassment and hostility. Finally when American communists came to Moscow in July 1935 for the seventh Congress of the Comintern, their presence seemed, in the view of the American ambassador, to constitute "a flagrant violation of Litvinov's pledge" and a justification for the severence of diplomatic ties. Though the government did not go that far, relations with Soviet Russia had reached a new low less than two years after recognition.

Reading 4:

Post-1918 chaos in Europe, followed by the Great Depression, fostered the ominous concept of totalitarianism. The individual was nothing; the state was everything. Communist Russia led the way with the crafty and ruthless Joseph Stalin finally emerging as dictator. Blustery Benito Mussolini, a swaggering fascist, seized the reigns of power in Italy during 1922. And Adolf Hitler, a fanatic with a

toothbrush mustache, plotted and harangued his way into control of Germany in 1933... International gangsterism was likewise spreading in the Far East, where the Nipponese were on the make. Like Germany and Italy, Japan was a so-called "have-not" power... Joseph Stalin, the Sphinx of the Kremlin, was a key to the peace puzzle. In the summer of 1939, the British and French were busily negotiating with Moscow, hopeful of securing a treaty that would halt Hitler. But mutual suspicions proved insuperable. Almost overnight, the Soviet Union astounded the civilized world by signing, on August 23, 1939, a non-aggression pact with the German dictator....It meant that the Nazi German leader now had a green light to make war on Poland and the western democracies, without fearing a stab in the back from Russia, his communist archfoe. Consternation struck those wishful thinkers in Western Europe who had fondly hoped that Hitler might be egged upon Stalin so that the twin menaces would bleed each other to death. It was as plain as the mustache on Stalin's face that the wily Soviet dictator was plotting to turn his German accomplice against the western democracies.

The two warring camps would kill each other off—and leave him bestriding Europe like a colossus.

Reading 5:

Prime Causes of the War

Imperialism was the fundamental cause of World War II. The mad scramble for profits had always been a source of conflict. Because of this, the imperialists now hoped to conquer foreign lands, enslave the people, and thus control the world.

Several things characterized the rule of the world's capitalist powers in the years before and after the First World War. They inflicted lawless government upon their helpless citizens. They also built a fraudulent peace. In fact, the Treaty of Versailles did nothing but serve their narrow and predatory interests. It carried with it the seeds of another greater world conflict.

By the 1930s the international community began to come apart. Conflicts began to develop and the capitalist powers lined up in two opposing camps. Germany, Italy, and Japan were on one side, while Britain, France, and the United States were on the other.

Those nations who had been defeated in the First World War, or who believed that they had been swindled out of their fair share of the victor's spoils, wanted revenge. They also wanted to undermine the economic power of their capitalistic competitors. They developed schemes to enslave or massacre many innocent peoples. Nazi Germany and the Japanese militarists, for example, wanted to completely destroy the Soviet Union, divide its land between them, and make serfs out of those Soviet citizens who survived the bloodletting. In envy the Fascist states also looked upon the colonies of the other capitalist powers. Like all imperialists, the Fascists wanted their "place in the sun," as well as the raw materials and markets that colonies would bring.

Britain, France, and the United States formed the major imperialist coalition against the Fascists. The major victors of the First World War, they wanted to achieve two things: maintain their own power and weaken their rivals.

The influences of the Great Depression highlighted the differences between the two capitalist factions. This turn of events was not, however, the most elemental contradiction in world affairs. The fundamental conflict was that between socialism and capitalism.

Reactionary elements in the capitalist world had long been fabricating a plot in which all the imperialist states would take part in a war against the Soviet Union. However, dissension among the imperialists prevented them from organizing a unified attack on the USSR. At the same time, the common people of Britain, France, and the United States—the everyday working men and women—demanded that their governments adopt an unambiguous anti-Fascist posture.

When the Nazis came to power, Germany became the major instigator of a new world crisis. The German Fascists wanted to rule the world, and they would initiate their plan through the conquest of

Europe. The especially wanted *lebensraum* (i.e., "living space") in the East. To achieve this goal, they set out to invade the Soviet Union. To justify their actions, they would tell the world that they were saving Europe from the threat of Communism.

Many of the reactionaries in Britain, France, and the United States were sympathetic to the Nazi plan for conquest. They thought that they could make use of Germany as the advance guard in the imperialist struggle against both the progressive and peace-loving peoples of the Soviet Union, and the truly democratic elements in Europe. Hitler, of course, understood that he would be duly rewarded by the Western powers. Should all go according to plan, the Nazis would be presented with changes in those parts of the Treaty of Versailles that placed military restrictions on Germany.

The Struggle of the Soviet Union for Peace and Collective Security

The only nation willing to stand as a bulwark against the aggressions of the Fascists in these days was the USSR. A consistent advocate of peace, the Soviet Union won the admiration and sympathy of common people all over the world. This factor must not be ignored. It was instrumental in making the imperialist governments of the non-Fascist powers redirect their policies regarding the Soviet Union. Of course, this development also ruined their most fundamental hopes. They had wanted to see the USSR destroyed. Between 1933 and 1935, however, ten countries, including the United States, officially recognized the Soviet regime and exchanged ambassadors. The prestige of the USSR was so enhanced in the international community that she was invited, by thirty countries in September of 1934, to join the League of Nations.

During the inter-war years, the USSR championed the cause of all progressive peoples who wished to see the eradiction of militarism. She placed a motion before the International Disarmament Conference that it endorse a policy of complete disarmament. The imperialists voted this down, as well as a forthcoming Soviet proposal for partial disarmament.

The times were dangerous and the Soviet Government took every opportunity to checkmate the aggressors. In the League of Nations, the Soviet representative Maxim L. Litvinov articulated the principle of "Indivisible Peace." Contained in this very popular proposal was the ideal of *collective security*. Should it be accepted by the international community, all states would combine as one to confront aggression.

Anglo-Franco-Soviet Discussions

The Fascist coalition now held the advantage in Europe. A fundamental conflict of interest meant that sooner or later the two imperialist camps would engage in open warfare.

In March 1939, the Germans seized the Lithuanian port city of Memel. Hitler was also preparing for full-scale war against the Poles. He demanded that Danzig be turned over to the Nazis. In the following month, Mussolini's armies invaded Albania. These new aggressions forced Britain and France to re-evaluate the appeasement policy they had developed at the Munich Conference.

Both Britain and France wanted to gain an economic advantage over Nazi Germany. In order to achieve this, they began a military build-up. To this end they also gave aid to a number of other European countries, such as Poland. Given the strength of Germany, they eventually found it necessary to begin talks with the USSR. These negotiations centered upon what common actions might be taken against aggressors.

The Soviet Union tried to work out a tri-partite military ageement that would provide each of the cooperating powers with aid in the event of aggression. The USSR insisted upon a clear definition of the nature and extent of such assistance. It also wanted the pact to include an agreeement that the signatories would come to the defense of a number of other countries in Eastern and Western Europe should they become victims of aggression.

Reactionary historians have since charged that the USSR did not make a sincere effort at this time to bring about a military agreement with Britain and France. This is absolutely untrue. Neither Daladier nor Chamberlain wanted a treaty among equals, one that called for fairness and reciprocity. They wanted to maneuver the USSR into a position in which war with Germany was inevitable. Once the war came, the Soviet Union would, of course, lack any reliable Anglo-French guarantees. In essence, she would be alone. When British and French military representatives arrived in Moscow in August of 1939, their governments had not even authorized them to sign formal agreements. Consequently, the blame for what transpired should be placed at the feet of the Western powers. The negotiations soon became fruitless, and they were broken off.

The Soviet-German Non-Aggression Pact

By the end of the Summer of 1939, the international position of the USSR was perilous. The Nazis were getting ready to invade Poland. The Japanese militarists were on the march, endangering even the far-eastern borders of the Soviet Union. The USSR had to accept the fact that she was internationally isolated and in danger of facing aggression on two fronts.

In due time Germany proposed a ten-year non-aggression treaty with the USSR. In the light of diplomatic realities, and to avoid fighting a war on both her eastern and western borders, the Soviet Union signed the pact. In doing so, she gained time to build up her defenses until she too was attacked by the Fascists. In the end, the agreement frustrated the creation of a united anti-Soviet front on the part of the imperialist powers.

The Non-Aggression pact was signed on 23 August 1939. The duplicity of the Western Powers brought about Soviet acceptance of the German proposals. The USSR was quite aware of the fact that Hitler was still planning to attack the Soviet Union, so the pact was yet another cynical example of Fascist double-dealing. History endorses the Soviet response. In the end, there was no other choice, but the Western leaders who had cringed before Hitler at Munich had not succeeded in their overall plan (i.e., forcing the USSR into a war with Hitler while they watched from the sidelines).

The USSR avoided being victimized by an anti-Soviet agreement between the two groups of imperialists. Leaders of the Socialist Motherland took quick advantage of the essential contradictions within the capialist community of nations. Thereafter, however, Hitler's men soon came to see that victory in the west would be more easily obtained than in the East. The Nazis therefore now made plans to consolidate their rear areas. They gathered to them all the anti-Soviet forces of Europe for an invasion of the USSR.

World War II was a war of the imperialists. They are ultimately responsible for it, and it began with low scale combat breaking out between the two imperialist coalitions. The Fascist aggressors led by Hitler's Germany began the hostilities. They must shoulder the blame for this war whose aims, especially on the Fascist side, were both morally indefensible and based upon naked aggression.

The Invasion of Poland

Nazi troops stormed across the Polish frontier on 1 September 1939. Having promised to come to Poland's assistance, Britain and France declared war upon Germany two days later. In response Hitler declared: "It still doesn't mean that they will really fight." For once he spoke the truth, because the two Western powers soon abandoned Poland, much as they had betrayed Czechoslovakia at the time of Munich. Opposed by only 23 German divisions, the 115 divisions of the Anglo-French coalition simply stood idle. The ruling elite of both capitalist powers had anticipated that Germany would move immediately upon the USSR after it had crushed the Poles. As for Poland itself, most of her political and military leaders fled into exile, abandoning their country to the Fascists. Many Polish soldiers and civilians fought on, however, as did the citizens of Warsaw. Workers throughout the country rallied to the sides of their progressive compatriots, and these Polish Communists fought in the first ranks in the struggle against the Nazis. For the time being, however, the military scales were tipped in favor of the

Hitlerites. It took the Nazis about three weeks to destroy the disorganized Polish Army and to overrun and occupy a large part of the country.

The German offensive moved eastward across Poland, thereby threatening the people of the Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia with slavery under the Hitlerite yoke. To prevent this tragedy, and to rectify at last the illegal annexation of these two areas by Poland in 1920, the Soviet armed forces brought both regions under the protection of the USSR.

The United States claimed a neutral status when war broke out in Europe. American armsmakers and monopolists, however, hoped to benefit from the conflict. According to their schemes, the gains made by American bankers and industrialists in war profiteering would help drag the country out of the economic crisis with which it was trying to cope. As for France and Britain, they still looked forward to making an agreement with Hitler following the defeat of Poland. Then it would be time to focus Fascist military power directly upon the USSR.

The Armed Conflict with Finland

As hostilities spread during the early phases of the Second World War, the USSR recognized that it had unique security problems. Its frontier with Finland was particularly vulnerable, for the border passed within 32 kilometers of the city of Leningrad. Finnish military measures caused further anxieties within the Soviet leadership. With the help of imperialist elements, Finnish generals built great fortifications on the Karelian Isthmus. These fortifications could be used as forward bases in an attack on the Soviet Union. Finnish leaders would not listen to Soviet appeals for a mutual aid agreement. They broke off talks in which Soviet authorities had hoped to exchange Finnish territory near Leningrad for twice as much land in Karelia. The Finnish Army then provoked open hostilities. Artillery fire at the end of November 1939 was directed at the Soviet side. The USSR had no option but a suitable military response.

Led on by the Hitlerites, and encouraged by other imperialist elements, Finnish reactionary forces brought about a full-scale war with the Soviet Union. Finnish armed forces entrenched themselves in a system of strongholds along the so-called "Mannerheim Line." From these positions they believed that they could contain the advancing Red Army. According to the second phase of their plan, they would then go on the offensive after having received sufficient military assistance from the Western Powers. Once this point had been reached, they would transfer all future military operations to Soviet soil. Anti-Soviet elements in Britain, France, and the United States greatly enjoyed the predicament of the USSR and believed that events along the Finnish border meant the beginning of a great war.

Britain and France sent large quantities of supplies to the Finns and were planning to transport an expeditionary force of 150,000 men. At the same time, they were conspiring to attack the Soviet oilfields at Baku from airbases in Syria. Finland was also given weapons by Italy and Germany. The United States lent the Finns ten million dollars and shipped them 10,000 rifles.

The Red Army went over to the offensive on 11 February 1940, assaulting the Mannerheim Line. After twenty days of costly fighting, the objective was attained. The Finns were defeated.

The Finnish militarists asked for peace terms, and on 12 March 1940 a treaty was signed in Moscow. According to its provisions, the Finns agreed to move their borders to a line running along the Karelian Isthmus northwest of Lake Ladoga. They also consented to leasing the Hango peninsula to the Soviet Union. In coming to this agreement with Finland the USSR placed limits on herself, making the minimum demands which would fulfill our security needs along this vital northwest border. In retrospect, it can be seen that the victory over Finland in March 1940 ruined world imperialism's plot of a "great crusade" against the Soviet state.

Second World War Readings:

1. Abridged excerpts from *American History*, by John Garraty, copyright © 1982 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

2. Berkin, Carol, and Leonard Wood, *Land of Promise: A History of the United States* (Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman, 1987), pp. 667- 670. Reprinted by permission of Scott, Foresman and Company.

3. Abridged excerpts from *The National Experience*, Sixth Edition, Part II, by John Blum et al., copyright © 1977 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

4. Bailey, Thomas A., *The American Pageant* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1975), pp. 1008-1009. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

5. Paraphrased from Lyons, Graham, ed., *The Russian Version of the Second World War*, a selection of translated excerpts from two Soviet schoolbooks—*Istoriya SSR*, by I.V. Behkin and others, published by Prosveshchenie Moscow, and *Noveishaya Istoriya*, same publisher (London: Leo Cooper, 1978), pp. 1-3, 9-13.

QUESTIONS ON WORLD WAR II READINGS

1. What are two important differences in the American texts' interpretations? How do you account for these differences? Be specific.

2. What four key words in Reading 4 are evidence of bias? How do you think these words affect the passage as a whole?

3. Which of the American text versions is the closest to Reading 5? Why do you think so?

4. Which interpretation seems to have an economic emphasis? How might you account for this? How do you explain the lack of an economic slant in some accounts?

READINGS ON THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS

Reading 1:

The United States let the Berlin Wall stand. Khrushchev then apparently decided to test Kennedy still further. The Russians began to build bases in Cuba from which rocket-powered missiles could be fired. When Kennedy inquired about the purpose of these weapons, the Russians assured him that only defensive, anti-aircraft missiles were being installed.

This was a bold-faced lie, and Kennedy knew it. American U-2 planes had secretly photographed the new installations. The Russians were preparing long-range offensive missile bases from which they could fire nuclear warheads at American targets.

Now came the most dangerous moment in the long Cold War. If the United States destroyed the missile bases, a third world war might result. If the Americans did nothing, they risked destruction.

On October 22, 1962, Kennedy appeared on television to tell the public about the Cuban Missile Crisis. He demanded that the Russians remove all their offensive weapons from Cuba and close down the missile bases. The United States navy would stop and search all ships approaching Cuba to make sure that no more weapons were brought in... For three days the world held its breath. Then Khrushchev agreed to remove the missiles. Kennedy won a great personal victory...

Reading 2:

Only a year after the Berlin Crisis, America again seemed on the brink of war with the Soviet Union. In October 1962 American U-2 reconnaissance planes discovered evidence through high altitude photographs that Soviet-built missiles were being installed in Cuba. Premier Khrushchev may have hoped to regain lost prestige by placing nuclear weapons there. The missiles installed in Cuba could strike cities in the United States as far away as Washington and St. Louis. Americans were not accustomed to living with any military threat just 90 miles from their border.

President Kennedy thus faced a momentous decision—should he move against this threat from the Soviet Union and risk war? Or should he avoid the possibility of war at the price of permitting hostile weapons in America's backyard? Some of Kennedy's advisers called for an invasion of Cuba, but JFK decided that would be too dangerous. Instead, he surrounded the island with a naval blockade to halt approaching Soviet ships.

For six terrifying days, the world trembled on the brink of war. Nearly unbearable tension gripped the entire world as Soviet ships steamed toward Cuba while a huge American invasion force gathered in Florida. Then, to everyone's great relief, the Soviet ships turned around. "We were eyeball to eyeball," said Secretary of State Dean Rusk, "and I think the other fellow just blinked." The crisis ended when Soviets agreed to dismantle the missiles already in place in Cuba. In turn, the United States agreed not to invade the island.... Twice in two years, Kennedy had successfully called Khrushchev's bluff. But the President had won a hollow victory. Khrushchev came under great pressure from Kremlin "hawks" and the hard-line Chinese Communists. Within a year the Soviet leader was replaced by men who had as their chief priority an increase in Soviet military might. These leaders were determined that the Soviet Union would never again give in to the Americans. As a result, they began the largest peacetime military buildup in history.

Reading 3:

A crowing Castro continued to annoy his powerful Yankee neighbor. Washington persisted in its partial embargo on goods to Cuba, and tried without conspicuous success to persuade other nations to follow suit. But Castro, with generous financial aid from Russia, clung to power and continued to strengthen his armed forces with made-in-Moscow muscle, presumably defensive.

Official Washington was stunned in October 1962, when aerial photographs revealed that Russian technicians were secretly and hastily emplacing forty-two missiles in Cuba. Armed with nuclear warheads, these weapons could incinerate most of America's major cities with a push of a button. By a sneak violation of the Monroe Doctrine the Soviets were evidently attempting to create a blackmail bludgeon—one that would force the United States to back down in Berlin and in threatened hot spots.

Quite in contrast to the Bay of Pigs, which probably had misled Moscow, Kennedy played this game of "nuclear chicken" in a masterly fashion. While quietly making large-scale preparations for an invasion of Cuba, he proclaimed, on October 22, 1962, a naval and aerial "quarantine" of all offensive weapons being shipped into the island. Seizing or sinking Soviet ships in peacetime on the high seas would unquestionably be an act of war, but Kennedy was prepared to face up to the consequences.

In the breathless week of this eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation, Khrushchev finally flinched. On October 28, 1962, he agreed to a face-saving compromise, by which he would pull his missiles out of Cuba. The U.S., in turn, would pledge itself to lift the "quarantine" and not invade the island...

Neither side won a clear-cut victory, but Kennedy gained the essential point—after going to the brink of global atomization...Moscow propagandists, now cooing like doves of peace, proclaimed that the Soviets had won their objective because they had forced Americans to keep their hands off the Cubans. But it was as plain as the beard on Castro's face that the bold Soviet coup had backfired badly.

Reading 4:

Khrushchev by no means abandoned his goal of driving the West out of Berlin. In the summer of 1962, carrying his Cold War of movement to its ultimate audacity, he decided to establish in Cuba bases for nuclear missiles targeted against the United States—an unprecedented step for the Russians who had never before placed their missiles in any other country. If successful the operation would not only protect Cuba from American invasion—the objective later claimed by Khrushchev (though this could have been more simply achieved by stationing Soviet troops on the island)—but would give Russia a potent bargaining counter when it chose to reopen the Berlin questions. Moreover, by making shorter range missiles effective against American targets, it would double Soviet nuclear first-strike capacity and do so without additional strain on the Soviet budget....and it would strengthen the Russian hand against the militant Chinese by proving Moscow capable of bold action in support of communist revolution.

Washington had not objected to Russian supply of defensive weapons to Cuba; but Kennedy warned in September 1962 that, if there was evidence of "significant offensive capability either in Cuban hands or under Soviet direction...the gravest issues would arise." Khrushchev repeatedly denied publicly and privately that he had any such intention. Nor did Washington consider such recklessness likely. Then, on October 14, a U-2 overflight found conclusive evidence that Khrushchev had lied.

...For six days Kennedy and a small group of advisers debated behind locked doors how best to get the missiles out. One faction, led by Dean Acheson and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, advocated the destruction of the bases by surprise air attack. The other, led by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the President's brother, and Secretary of Defense McNamara, sharply opposed this course on moral grounds—as a Pearl Harbor in reverse against a small country—and on practical grounds because it might kill Russians at the missile sites and force the Soviet Union into drastic retaliation. Naval blockade, this group argued, would both show the American determination to get the missiles out and allow Moscow time and room to pull back without undue humiliation....

The days that followed were more tense than any since the Second World War. Moscow continued to deny the presence of nuclear weapons until, in a dramatic moment before the United Nations, Ambassador Adlai Stevenson confronted the Soviet delegate with blown-up aerial photographs of the nuclear installations. Meanwhile work was continuing day and night to make the bases operational. An American invasion force was massing in Florida. Soviet ships, presumably carrying more missiles, were drawing near the island; Kennedy kept the interception line close to Cuba to give Khrushchev

maximum time for reflection. Finally, after indescribable suspense, Soviet ships began to turn back, "We're eyeball to eyeball," said Dean Rusk, "and I think the other fellow just blinked."

It remained for negotiation to complete the resolution of the crisis. On October 26 Kennedy received a long, passionate letter from Khrushchev dilating on the horror of nuclear war and offering to remove the missiles and send no more if the United States would end the quarantine and agree not to invade Cuba. But on the following morning there arrived a second letter from Khrushchev, harder in tone and proposing an entirely different trade: the Soviet missiles in Cuba for the American missiles in Turkey; a Soviet guarantee of Turkish integrity for an American guarantee of Cuban integrity. Robert Kennedy now recommended that his brother ignore the second letter and respond to the first. The President followed this advice. Robert Kennedy took the American restatement of the first Khrushchev proposal to the Soviet ambassador, who then asked him about the Turkish missiles. The Attorney General replied that, while this could be no quid pro quo, his brother had ordered their removal some time back "and it was our judgment that within a short time after this crisis was over, those missiles would be gone." The next day, October 28, a favorable reply came from Khrushchev.

Khrushchev's bluff had failed. In short order, the bases were dismantled and the missiles on their way home. Castro's resistance, however, made it impossible to establish the UN inspection to which Khrushchev had agreed, and the United States never formally completed the reciprocal pledge not to invade Cuba. But in substance the deal went into effect anyway. U-2 overflights, which the Russian antiaircraft batteries made no attempt to stop, took the place of the UN inspection; the Jupiter missiles left Turkey; and the United States, which had no intention of invading Cuba in any case, now ended hit-and-run raids by Cuban refugees from American territory. In the autumn of 1963 Kennedy began secret explorations through the United Nations looking toward a normalization of relations with Cuba.

Reading 5:

Cuba Under the Thumb of Latifundists and American Monopolists

In the years prior to the Revolution of 1959, the world community formally recognized Cuba as an independent republic. Actually, it was not much more than a colony of American imperialism. While American monopolies maintained their grip, native-born landowners inflicted a type of medieval exploitation on the peasantry who toiled on the great estates. Thus, Cuban society, and her economic life, were subjected to a combination of capitalistic and precapitalistic bondage. American capitalists dominated virtually all of Cuba's major businesses. They either owned, or held controlling influences, in banks, railroads, and electrical utilities. In the meantime, Cuban agriculture was virtually dependent upon markets for two crops, sugar and tobacco. In the precarious circumstances, the latifundists directly controlled almost one-half of all the cultivated land. American monopolies owned another 2 million hectares. Thus, Cuba was reduced to little more than a supplier of raw materials to the United States. The capitalists who took her agricultural resources referred to Cuba as the "American sugar bowl."

The exploited Cuban agricultural workers lived very harsh lives. The small peasants, 85 percent of whom leased their land from the great estateowners, suffered under the most degrading circumstances. Empathizing with the exploitation of his countrymen, the great poet Nicholas Gillen wrote: "My country is made of sugar, but how much bitterness she has."

Many times during these years, the Cuban masses rose up against the domination of the American capitalists. The people's struggle was particularly acute during the Twenties at the time of the October Revolution. Agitation among industrial and agricultural workers grew into a strike movement in 1921-22. Communist elements grew more influential in the worker's movement during these years, and came together, in 1925, to form the *Communist Party of Cuba*...

Following the Second World War, the angry voice of the Cuban masses grew louder. Working people demanded liberation from the power of American monopolies. In these years the National Socialist Party (the re-named Communist Party of Cuba) became very popular. The outward effects of class an-

tagonisms began to frighten the latifundists, Cuban military circles, and the American monopolists. Their puppet Batista, with the support of right-wing elements in the Cuban army, organized a military coup on March 10, 1952. Successful in their enterprise, this bloodly clique would rule Cuba for almost seven years. Cuban reactionaries and the American monopolists consistently gave their support to the dictator and all of his programs. Batista revoked the Constitution and outlawed the National Socialist Party. During the years of his dictatorship, 22,000 working people, peasants, and intellectuals were tortured and killed.

The Start of the Revolution in Cuba

The Cuban masses battled heroically against Batista and his American bosses. The National Socialist Party played a key role in this struggle. Its underground activities were unrelenting, and under Communist leadership labor agitation dramatically increased. Many demonstrations by workers in the sugar industry were organized. As the struggle intensified, it attracted important allies such as progressive members of the intelligentsia. Young students were also especially enthusiastic to lend their support.

Victory of the Anti-Imperialist Revolution in Cuba and Its Evolution Into a Socialist Revolution

The Revolution of 1959 had mass support, and its goals were essentially anti-imperialist and anti-feudal. Its national character can be seen in one of its first major programs, the Agrarian Reform Law of 1959. Estates which exceeded 400 hectares, as well as the holdings of the American capitalists, were nationalized. All of this land was put into the hands of the people....

The United States reacted predictably. In the light of its forthcoming provocations, sugar factories, oil refineries, and public utility companies belonging to American monopolists were also nationalized. In due time the business interests of the Cuban bourgeoise—banks, trade and transportation companies, and the like—were also turned over to state ownership.

The Cuban Revolution began as an anti-imperialistic, national liberation agrarian revolution. Its origins were embedded deep in the national experience of the Cuban people. In progressive steps it evolved, in the Fall of 1960, into a Socialist revolution. The community of socialist nations had been growing in fraternal strength and cohesiveness, and the Cuban Revolution benefited from these new global realities. Its ultimate success broke the yoke of imperialist power in Latin America, and Cuba became the first socialist state in the Western Hemisphere.

Construction of Socialism in Cuba

In order to support Cuba's economic and political independence and make its defense credible, the Soviet Union and other progressive countries have not failed to extend a great deal of help to Cuba. When the United States imposed its embargo on critical goods, the USSR and other Socialist countries bought Cuban sugar. They also saw to it that Cuba had a sufficient supply of petroleum products.

International Status of Cuba

The people of Cuba want nothing more than peaceful lives. They want to engage themselves in productive and creative work. But they can't disarm their Revolution. Because of the American capitalists, they will not be able to lay aside their weapons until the final victory over imperialism is achieved. American air attacks have struck Cuba on repeated occasions, and American terrorists have planted bombs in her ships and business establishments.

American-based mercenaries and provocateurs have been organized to work against the Cuban Revolution. Counterrevolutionaries and Cuban emigrés have been trained in the United States. In 1961 the ruling clique in the American government severed diplomatic relations with Cuba. Using the forum of the so-called Organization of American States, it organized its hemispherical clients to under-

mine the Cuban accomplishment at every opportunity. Founded in 1948, the OAS is nothing but another tool employed by American imperialism to subjugate Latin America.

In April of 1961 the United States landed a group of armed Cuban counterrevolutionaries in the *Playa Giron* [Bay of Pigs] area. The Cuban people rose shoulder-to-shoulder against this invasion. As they fought to defend their Revolution, the slogan was, "The motherland or death! We shall be victorious!" Within three days after the initial landings, the American puppets were defeated.

The American imperialists organized a naval blockade of Cuba in October 1962 and threatened the Island of Liberty with full-scale invasion. The American-manufactured crisis brought the world to the brink of a nuclear exchange. The Soviet Union acted with firm resolution, however. Because of its strength and decisiveness, war was averted. A Soviet-American agreement was worked out in the aftermath of the crisis. The Americans gave their word before the international community that they would not attack Cuba. At the same time, they agreed to restrain their hemispheric allies.

Cuban Missile Crisis Readings:

1. Abridged excerpts from *American History*, by John Garraty, copyright © 1982 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

2. Berkin, Carol, and Leonard Wood, *Land of Promise: A History of the United States* (Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman, 1987), p. 749. Reprinted by permission of Scott, Foreman and Company.

3. Bailey, Thomas A., *The American Pageant* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath, 1975), pp. 1008-1009. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

4. Abridged excerpts from *The National Experience*, Sixth Edition, Part II, by John Blum et al., copyright © 1977 by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

6. Paraphrased from Khvostova, Academician V.M., ed.; *New History: Textbook for the Ninth Class Secondary Schools* (approved by the Ministry of Education, Moscow, 1977), pp. 94-99.

QUESTIONS ON CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS READINGS

1. Write a paragraph synthesizing the American versions of the crisis, and another one summarizing the Soviet version. In a third paragraph, write an objective, accurate account of what you think really happened and, importantly, WHY it happened. Finally, write a paragraph summarizing the crucial differences between the American and Soviet versions and speculate as to why there are such glaring differences.

2. Summarize the different interpretations of the conclusion of the crisis in Readings 4 and 5. Which seems the most likely? Why? What do you think Castro would have written about the conclusion of the episode? Why?

3. What elements of the Soviet account seem basically true and are neglected either partially or totally in the American account? Why do you think this is the case?

15. THE SOVIET ECONOMY

Introduction:

This activity is comprised of three parts concerning the Soviet economy. It can be used to discuss the problems inherent in a planned economy and the legacy that must be overcome. The activity's three parts can be taught as a complete instructional unit or separately. For example, the teacher might want to do the economic spectrum and Marx exercises near the beginning of the unit and the exercise on Gorbachev's reforms and their failure toward the end. As part of such a unit, he or she may wish to simulate collective groups.

Part 1 is designed to help students compare and contrast market, socialist, and communist economies. The use of the concept of the spectrum will help the students visualize the characteristics of each system and understand that certain characteristics are found in more than one system. Students do not need a great deal of previous knowledge about socialism, communism, or the Soviet Union's economy. It is helpful, however, if they already understand the concepts of capitalism and a market economy.

Some attention to Marx's ideas about history and economics is important for any study of the Soviet Union. For advanced students and knowledgeable teachers, *The Communist Manifesto* is accessible and easily discussed. Part 2 provides a very brief introduction to expose students to fundamental Marxist ideas without weighing them down with heavy doses of Marxist theory.

Part 3 gives students a hands-on and investigative approach to studying some problems of the Soviet economy in the Gorbachev era. It can be used to supplement a straightforward discussion of the economic problems facing Russia today. The problems are intriguing. How, for example, can leaders reform a crumbling economy that does not promote incentive or motivation in its workers? The basic assumptions of the command economy do not lend themselves to the ideas of a free market and *laissez-faire*. It is a systemic problem that encompasses every area of the economy, ranging from the bureaucratic system, to agriculture, to technological backwardness. One of the most basic of the problems is how to motivate people to work better. These exercises illustrate the problems that faced Gorbachev when he tried to reform the system.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Compare and contrast three economic systems: market capitalism, socialism, and communism.

2. List a country that represents each type of economic system.

3. Identify Karl Marx and *The Communist Manifesto*.

4. Explain Marx's idea of class struggle as set down in *The Communist Manifesto* and identify the stages through which he says that history passes.

5. Explain how the idea of class struggle is related to communism and the economic spectrum.

6. Articulate an understanding of the importance of motivation in economic performance and the difficulties of creating motivation in a command economy.

7. Discuss whether *perestroika* is a reform movement based on socialistic or capitalistic principles and suggest alternative reforms.

Activity developed by Teresa L. Orchard, Canton High School, Canton, Illinois.

Materials and Preparation: For Part 1, "The Economic Spectrum," you will need copies of Handout 15-1 and one or two sets of the Characteristic Cards (depending on the number of students in the class). For Part 2, "The Ideas of Karl Marx," you will need copies of Handout 15-2. For Part 3, "The Gorbachev Era," you will need copies of Handout 15-3, posting paper, and materials for use in making posters. You may also want Handout 15-4 for evaluation.

Time Required: Part 1, "The Economic Spectrum": 1 or 2 class periods, depending on how much time the teacher wishes to take to prepare the background knowledge of students. Part 2, "The Ideas of Karl Marx": 1 class period plus homework the preceding day. Part 3, "The Gorbachev Era": 3 class periods.

Procedure:

Part 1: The Economic Spectrum

1. Teachers may want to introduce this activity by explaining that the progression from command communism to socialism to market capitalism can be considered an economic spectrum whereby socialism contains some characteristics of the economic types at the two extremes. The three systems are placed on the spectrum according to the degree that free enterprise (*laissez-faire*) and government intervention exist in the economy. Pure capitalism, or a market economy, is therefore placed on one end of the spectrum since the greatest degree of free enterprise exists. In addition, the greatest amount of consumer sovereignty exists in pure capitalism. (For these purposes, consumer sovereignty may be defined as the ability of the consumer to influence what, how, how much, and for whom economic goods are produced in a society.) Since socialism is a mixture of individual and government direction in the economy, it is placed in the middle of the spectrum. Communism is placed on the other end of the spectrum because of its degree of government control. Again, teachers should stress that the systems are placed according to their economic characteristics and that there is no such thing in reality as pure market capitalism or pure command communism. The first exercise should focus on a discussion about theory, not practice, and emphasize the concept of the continuum.

2. Distribute Handout 15-1 and review the terms with students.

3. Hand out the Characteristic Cards, providing each student with a card; if numbers require that you give the same characteristic to more than one student, you may want to choose a characteristic that belongs to more than one system.

4. Designate areas in the classroom for each system—market capitalism, socialism, and command-communism. Ask students to group themselves in the proper area (economic system) according to the information on their cards. Students should consider all aspects of what they know concerning market and command-communist economies, as well as their general knowledge of these economic systems, before ruling out a specific characteristic. To limit confusion, you may wish to stress that this activity pertains to pure market and to pure command communist economies. (It should be noted that neither pure capitalism nor a pure system of totally controlled command communism have ever existed in fact.) Teachers may choose whether they wish to tell students that some cards fit more than one category. If left unsaid, there is often more debate and discussion over the systems and their characteristics. The characteristics should be classified as follows: **1.** M, S; **2.** S, C; **3.** M; **4.** M, S; **5.** M, S; **6.** M, S; **7.** M, S; **8.** C, S; **9.** S; **10.** S; **11.** S, C; **12.** C; **13.** M, S, C; **14.** C; **15.** S, C; **16.** C.

5. Have students remain with their groups and discuss the characteristics of each economic system. Discuss whether some students have cards that belong in more than one system.

6. As a class compare and contrast the three systems by discussing the questions below:

- How are resources allocated?
- Who owns resources and capital?
- Who decides which resources are produced and for whom?

- To what degree do consumer freedom and consumer sovereignty exist?
- To what degree is the government involved with economic planning?

7. List a specific country that represents each type of system. Discuss the fact that certain "socialist" features exist in the United States; for example, characteristic 15 applies to the United States, if not to "pure market capitalism." Similarly, "socialist" features also existed in the Soviet economy prior to its reform.

Part 2: The Ideas of Karl Marx

1. Assign the readings on Marx as homework (Handout 15-2).

2. Begin the discussion by focusing on the questions provided on the handout. Follow up with the questions below:

- According to Marx's theory, in what stage was the Soviet economy when Gorbachev initiated his reforms?
- How would Marx view Gorbachev's Soviet economic reforms?
- Does a class struggle exist today in Russia?

Part 3: The Gorbachev Era: The Problem of Motivation in a Command Economy

1. Explain to students that they will be brainstorming in groups to discover questions they have about the Russian economy. Each group of three to four students will compete against the other groups to see which group can come up with the most questions. Allow ten minutes for each group to brainstorm. Provide each group with posting paper. Give the students incentive to brainstorm the most by offering extra credit points for the team that comes up with the most questions. You might also play the William Tell Overture to create a "race" atmosphere.

2. When the brainstorming is over, discuss questions and emphasize those that are most important today. Questions can then be allotted to students as research topics. The reference section provides a bibliography of materials with which to begin.

3. Follow up the brainstorming session by asking students what motivated them to come up with as many brainstorming questions as possible. Lead a more general discussion on what motivates people at school, jobs, in friendships, at home, etc.

4. Ask students what kinds of incentives are found in our economy. What motivates people to be economically productive in our society? Compare this to the situation in the former Soviet Union.

5. Distribute Handout 15-3 to students. To complete the survey, students should ask the following people: four peers, a teacher, and a parent. They should also answer the survey themselves.

6. Allow 1-2 days for the completion of the survey. Discuss the results afterwards and tie them in to a discussion of the problems facing Russia today.

Evaluation:

Teachers can use the quiz provided in Handout 15-4 for evaluation. Answers are: **1.** b; **2.** d; **3.** b; **4.** c; **5-11.** responses relate directly to information and concepts developed in research topics and general class discussion.

Enrichment/Extension:

1. Have students work in collective groups to devise posters detailing what the Soviet Union offered people (i.e., free education, employment, medical care, low crime rates, housing, etc.). On its

poster, each group should also detail what was sacrificed in a command economy (i.e., no consumer sovereignty, limited freedom of choice and expression, restrictions and limitations of other rights and freedoms.) The posters should illustrate trade-offs and opportunity costs. Group grades should be given.

2. Have students make posters that might have been used in recent Russian elections. These could illustrate slogans of such people as Boris Yeltsin. They could even adapt old Lenin slogans, such as "Land, Bread and Peace." *Perestroika* and *glasnost* might also inspire creative ideas for posters.

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Miller, James R., "An Overview," in *The Soviet Union Today*, edited by James Cracraft (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 177-190.

Rosenblatt, Robert, "The Altar of a Broken Idea," *U.S. News and World Report* (April 3, 1989), pp. 34-42.

Trewhitt, Henry, "The Risks of a New Revolution," *U.S. News and World Report* (October 19, 1987), pp. 31-32.

Zuckerman, Mortimer B., "Lenin's Dream Gone Berserk," *U.S. News and World Report* (March 3, 1988), p. 78.

Teachers and students should be able to find many articles to update this list.

ECONOMIC VOCABULARY TERMS

Bourgeoisie—Marx's term for the people who owned the factories and other property, what he called "the means of production." Another word he used for this group was "capitalists," because they owned all the capital (see definition). He believed that these people formed a class, a group with a shared economic position, shared ideas, and shared interests. These interests were in conflict with those of the proletariat so that these two classes were engaged in a "class struggle."

Capital—in economics, wealth or money. The term is used in such phrases as "capital investment," which refers to the money used to buy machinery or develop the skills of workers needed in a business before the product can begin to be made.

Capitalism—an economic system characterized by private ownership of resources. Decisions concerning economic goods are made by individuals or groups rather than by the state. Private investment, savings, the profit motive, consumer freedom and sovereignty, and competition exist. Prices, production, and distribution of goods are determined by individuals and the forces of supply and demand instead of state or government regulation. The fundamental questions of scarcity and supply (or production) are answered by private interests. Pure capitalism is an ideal type, not a description of a real, existing system.

Class—according to Marx, a group of people that shares the same economic situation, the same ideas, and the same interests.

Command economy—an economy in which a central authority makes the decisions concerning prices, production, and distribution of goods. The fundamental questions of scarcity and supply are answered by this group. In addition, this authority or group has control and ownership of the resources. Command economies are often found in states with a communist political system.

Communism—according to Marx, a system in which all resources would belong to everyone in common. Each person would work according to his/her ability and be rewarded according to his/her needs. This ideal system has never existed in reality.

Consumer freedom—the ability of consumers to choose which goods and services they wish to purchase. (Example: In both market and command economies, John may decide whether to buy a blue ink pen or a red ink pen. He has the "freedom" to make this decision and purchase.)

Consumer sovereignty—the ability of consumers to influence or determine what, how much, how, and for whom economic goods and services are produced. (Example: In a market economy, John may choose to buy the blue or the red ink pen as well as influence the production of both of these types of pens. In a command economy, John may only be able to choose what kind of a pen he wishes to purchase; the central planning authority determines what color and how many pens to produce so that John can fine only blue pens.)

Entrepreneur—a person who takes initiative and organizes a business undertaking; a risk-taker. This person also gets the profits in a capitalist system. Entrepreneurs are believed to be essential for effective economic advancement under capitalism. The failure of a planned economy to work well is often said to be the result of the lack of reward for entrepreneurs.

Goods—in economics, the things that are made; output.

Laissez-faire (from the French)—loosely translated, it means "to let someone do what he/she wants without interference." In economics, it means to let the economic process go on without state regulation of any kind.

Market economy—an economic system based on the principles of capitalism and free enterprise; an economic system in which buyers and sellers come together to deal in economic goods.

Proletariat—Marx's term for the people who do the work and are paid wages, but do not gain the full reward for the value of what they produce. He believed that these people formed a class, a group with a shared economic position, shared ideas, and shared interests. Marx also believed that these interests were in conflict with those of the bourgeoisie so that these two classes were engaged in a "class struggle."

Scarcity—the economic idea that individuals have unlimited wants and needs while resources are limited. The basic questions that surround the issue of scarcity include: what, for whom, how, and how much should be produced. Who answers these questions is a key in differentiating economic systems.

Services—in economics, activities that help consumers or businesses without resulting in a visible product. The waiter in a restaurant or the mechanic who fixes a car provide services, but do not produce goods.

Socialism—an economic system in which both individual and government decision-making are involved. The state owns many of the major industries and resources. Private enterprise does exist, as well as the profit motive, savings, investment, and individual ownership of resources.

1. Entrepreneurship is encouraged by individuals and the government.	9. Questions of scarcity (for whom, how, what, and how much should be produced) are answered by the government and individuals.
2. The government determines allocation of resources.	10. Resources are allocated by the government and by the individual.
3. Only individuals determine allocation of goods.	11. Economic plans are used to answer the questions of scarcity.
4. Profit motivates people to produce high-quality goods.	12. All resources are owned and distributed by the government.
5. Individuals earn profits from privately owned industries.	13. Shortages and surpluses of economic goods exist.
6. Resources are owned by the individuals.	14. The laws of supply and demand are not used to meet the unlimited wants of consumers.
7. Capital is privately owned by individuals.	15. The welfare state provides for many of the people's needs and wants.
8. Capital is owned by the state.	16. *Laissez-faire* economics are not practiced.

KARL MARX AND THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO

In 1848, Karl Marx and his close friend, Friedrich Engels, published a famous and influential book, *The Communist Manifesto*. This book outlined their ideas concerning sociopolitical systems and the evolution and struggles of classes throughout history. It also expressed their radical ideas about the need to transform society by revolution. *The Communist Manifesto* outlines the "official" doctrine of Marxists, international socialists, and communists.

Karl Marx had a theory about what caused history to happen and what would happen in the future. He believed that material (economic) forces provided the motor for historical change. He also believed that at any one time in history, there were two classes, those who owned the means of production and those who did all the work. One was made up of owners, the other of workers; one was the oppressor and the other the oppressed. Society developed as a result of struggle between these classes and because of advances in technology, which led to new types of economic organization.

At the beginning of history, society was tribal; people lived at a very primitive level. Then there was feudalism, with landowners making up the oppressing class, and peasants the oppressed, laboring class. Feudalism was succeeded by capitalism. Economic wealth in a capitalist society no longer came primarily from the land, but from a new source, industry. Technical inventions made industrial development possible. In capitalist society, the factory owners (the bourgeois class) made up the oppressing class, and the factory workers (proletariat) the oppressed class. The ruling capitalists had private property; the workers virtually nothing. This was the system that Marx saw around him in mid-19th century Europe. He saw the suffering of the workers. They worked long hours, but were not well paid and lived crowded together in unsanitary and uncomfortable housing. The bourgeoisie, on the other hand, seemed to do little work, but grew rich. He also noticed that the government seemed to help the rich and not the poor. The state seemed to be nothing but a tool of the ruling class for keeping the poor in their place. Marx believed that this situation could not last.

History would move forward in keeping with the law of dialectics. When the proletariat was fully developed, there would be a revolution in which the bourgeoisie would be destroyed. The capitalistic system would also be destroyed and a new society would be created. In this new society, called the communist society, there would be no classes. For the first time since the beginning of history, there would be no struggle between oppressor and oppressed, rich and poor. Everyone would work and everyone would receive equal benefit from his work. All property would be enjoyed in common. Factories would be managed by workers. Everthing would belong to everyone. There would be no need for a government to keep the poor in order, so the state would wither away. Everyone would be free and equal. This was Marx's dream.

After the revolution of 1917 in Russia, the Bolshevik leader Vladimir I. Lenin, who was inspired by Marx's ideas, realized that it would be impossible to build a new society according to communist principles. He saw that there was still a need for government and the state and that it was impossible for everyone to benefit equally from his or her work or to share all property equally. Lenin and the Soviet leaders who followed him called their new society a socialist society. In it, all land, factories, and businesses belonged to society and were administered by the state. They believed that the Soviet Union would have to go through this transitional phase before it could reach true communism. In order to industrialize as quickly as possible, the state bureaucracy made economic plans so that all activity would be coordinated for the common good. Only when the economic system was fully developed would it be possible to move into the phase of true communism.

Today, the term *socialism* is also used to describe societies in which there is some private property and some property that belongs to the state. In socialist societies, the largest factories and providers of public services—such as telephones, railroads, airlines, schooling, and medical care—are usually owned and managed by the government. Small businesses or farms may be owned by individuals. What belongs to the state and what can belong to private individuals varies from one socialist society to another. Many countries call themselves socialist, but you cannot really tell very much about their

economic or political system from that label. You need to do more specific research about each country in order to find out what its leaders mean when they call their nation socialist.

Read the following quotations from *The Communist Manifesto* to get a feeling for Marx's language and ideas:

> The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.
>
> Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open, fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.
>
> Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: *Bourgeoisie* and Proletariat.
>
> ...Not only are they (the proletariat) slaves of the *bourgeois* class, and of the *bourgeois* State, they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-seer, and above all, by the individual *bourgeois* manufacturer himself.
>
> Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the *bourgeoisie*; every victory so obtained is a victory for the *bourgeoisie*.
>
> But every class struggle is a political struggle.
>
> Of all the classes that stand face to face with the *bourgeoisie* today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.
>
> Hitherto every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes.
>
> The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the *bourgeois* supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.
>
> We have seen above that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class; to win the battle of democracy.
>
> The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie; to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, that is, of the proletariat organized as the ruling class....

Questions for Thought and Discussion:

1. What themes reoccurred in Marx's ideas and writings?
2. What was his general opinion concerning the *bourgeoisie*?
3. How did he plan to eliminate the class struggle?
4. According to Marx, why is this class struggle so offensive, wrong, or unjust?

Source:

Classics of Western Thought: The Modern World, Vol. III, edited by Charles Hirschfeld and Edgar E. Knobel (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1980).

SURVEY ON MOTIVATION

For this assignment, you should interview four motivated students, a motivated teacher, and a motivated parent. Ask each person the survey questions and write out their answers. If your GRADE is motivating you to do this assignment well, consider that you will be graded on creativity, effort, and neatness!

1. List three goals you want to accomplish within the next five years. What will motivate you to reach these goals? Explain your answer.

2. Who motivates you the most to accomplish goals or in everyday activities? Rank these from one to four.

   a. Yourself

   b. Family members

   c. Friends

   d. Teachers or boss

3. What motivates you most to be successful in your job or schoolwork? Rank these in order of importance?

   a. Personal satisfaction

   b. Economic rewards

   c. Future rewards

   d. Academic or job advancement

   e. Praise or recognition from family

   f. Praise or recognition from friends or co-workers

   g. Pleasing others with your success

   h. Negative results that may occur if your goal or success is not achieved.

5. Do you feel motivation is important for one to be successful? _____ Explain your answer.

QUIZ: THE SOVIET COMMAND ECONOMY

Choose the **best** answer to each multiple-choice question.

_____1. Which of the following is an economic system in which both individuals and government decision-making are involved; the state controls major industries and resources; and private enterprise does not exist?
a. Market economy
b. Socialism
c. Capitalism
d. Consumer sovereignty

_____2. Which of the following was both a contemporary and associate of Karl Marx?
a. Hegel
b. Lenin
c. Gorbachev
d. Engels

_____3. The term *laissez-faire* relates most closely to which of the following?
a. Command economy
b. Free market
c. Feudalism
d. Marxism

_____4. Which term did Karl Marx use when discussing the "well-off" middle class?
a. Proletariat
b. Plebeian
c. Bourgeoise
d. Republican

Briefly define the following *and* then explain the relationship of each to the Russian experience since 1985.

5. central planning

6. consumer freedom

7. capital

8. economic incentives

9. scarcity

10. Write a brief response to one of the questions below.

    A. What does the term *economic spectrum* mean?

    B. According to the ideas of Lenin, in what "stage" was the USSR in the years following the revolution?

11. Write an essay comparing and contrasting the three economic systems: market capitalism, socialism, and communism.

16. USING PRIMARY SOURCE MATERIALS: READINGS FROM EISENHOWER AND GORBACHEV

Introduction:

This activity involves analysis of short selections from primary source materials. Students below college level often find themselves restricted to using secondary sources for their historical reading. Standard history textbooks often do not allow students to engage in the analysis of opinionated materials; both texts and primary sources may contain materials that are not historically accurate. Using primary source materials as supplementary reading is not only a welcome break from the standard history book but allows students to engage in valuable critical thinking. Teachers and students should keep in mind that memoirs always represent only one person's point of view and tend to put the teller of the tale in the most positive possible light. Questions set out in the **Procedure** section of Activity 11 may also be used in conjunction with the sources presented here.

The selections presented here are Eisenhower writing on the U-2 Spy plane and the 1960 summit and Gorbachev on *perestroika*. The readings may contain terms that are unfamiliar to students, so the teacher may wish to supply definitions or more common language.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Determine the frame of reference of an author.
2. Evaluate an article as to its historical validity.
3. Compare differing points of view.
4. Explain why the 1960 summit meeting failed.
5. Give Gorbachev's reasons for instituting economic reforms.

Materials and Preparation: Students should have enough knowledge of each historical situation so that the events and circumstances in the reading do not appear to be isolated events. At times it may be advantageous to give students a bare minimum of background about an event so that they can evaluate the reading with an open mind (not empty, but open). You will need to make copies of the readings for all students.

Time Required: 1 class period plus a homework assignment for each reading.

Procedure:

Part 1: The U-2 Spy Plane and the Summit Meeting

1. Review with students the idea that Khrushchev's rise to power in the Soviet Union coincided with improved relations between the United States and the USSR. Khrushchev's trip to the United States symbolized this improvement.

2. Briefly discuss the role of intelligence in conducting foreign policy. Describe the downing of the U-2 spy plane, whose pilot, Francis Gary Powers, was alive and in Soviet hands.

3. Distribute Handout 16-1 and assign the reading.

Activity developed by Byron Wicks, Interlake High School, Bellevue, Washington.

4. Conduct a class discussion of the questions provided on the handout. Conclude the discussion by focusing on students' assessment of the document's accuracy and historical validity.

Part 2: Gorbachev on Perestroika

1. Review with students the succession to power of Soviet leaders from Stalin to Gorbachev, as well as workings of the Soviet economy—from theoretical Marxism-Leninism to the actual functioning of the economy from the factory to the lines in the stores.

2. Distribute Handout 16-2 and assign the reading.

3. Conduct a class discussion of the questions provided on the handout. Again, conclude with an analysis of the document's historical validity.

Evaluation:

Students may be evaluated on the basis of class discussion. If the teacher prefers, students could be asked to prepare written answers to the handout questions before the class discussion of the reading.

Enrichment/Extension:

Teachers could develop similar exercises with excerpts from the list of sources at the end of this activity. A short and succinct selection (four or five pages) can usually accomplish the same objectives as a longer reading and will more likely be read by the students of lower ability.

References:

Eisenhower, Dwight D., *Waging Peace* (New York: Doubleday, 1965).

Gorbachev, Mikhail, *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987).

Johnson, Lyndon Baines, *The Vantage Point* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).

Kennedy, Robert F., *Thirteen Days: A Memoir of the Cuban Missile Crisis* (New York: New American Library, 1969).

Kissinger, Henry, *White House Years* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1979).

Khrushchev, Nikita, *Khrushchev Remembers* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1970).

Salinger, Pierre, *With Kennedy* (New York: Doubleday, 1966).

Truman, Harry S, *Memoirs, Volume 1: Year of Decisions* (New York: Doubleday, 1955).

Truman, Harry S, *Memoirs, Volume 2: Years of Trial and Hope* (New York: Doubleday, 1957).

Vaillant, Janet G., and John Richards, III, *From Russia to the USSR: A Narrative and Documentary History* (New York: Longman, 1985).

THE U-2 SPY PLANE AND THE SUMMIT MEETING

Following Nikita Khrushchev's trip to the United States in September 1959, another summit meeting was scheduled for May 1960 in Paris. The meeting was also to be attended by President de Gaulle of France and Prime Minister Macmillan of Britain. A U-2 spy plane was shot down over the USSR on May 1, 1960, just days before the meeting was to begin. Khrushchev announced the incident to the world and demanded an apology from the United States. Following is Eisenhower's account of the Paris meeting.

Consider these questions as you read:

1. What demands did Khrushchev make of Eisenhower at the summit meeting?
2. What was Eisenhower's response to Khrushchev's demands and why?
3. What reasons did Eisenhower give for spying on the USSR?
4. What were the roles of de Gaulle and Macmillan at the conference?
5. What was the final action of the Soviet delegation at the conference?

* * * * *

We landed at Orly Airport near Paris on the morning of the 15th.

Not long after arrival, I learned from Prime Minister Macmillan, who had reached Paris ahead of us, that he was in receipt of a message from Khrushchev which was apparently a copy of one sent to President de Gaulle, the chairman of the planned conference.

The message, after reciting in extended fashion the feelings of outrage and resentment experienced by the Soviet government and its entire people at the effrontery of the United States government in authorizing flights over Soviet territory, laid down conditions that would have to be complied with by me before Chairman Khrushchev would attend the summit meeting. The first of these conditions was that I should denounce the U-2 flights as acts of inadmissible provocation committed by the Air Force of the United States in regard to the Soviet Union; secondly that I should renounce the continuance of comparable acts for the future and, finally, that I should have to "pass severe judgment" on those immediately responsible "for the premeditated violation of the frontiers of the U.S.S.R. by American planes." Khrushchev's message went on to say that unless all of this were done, "I cannot be among the participants in negotiations when one of them has made perfidy the basis of its policy toward the Soviet Union." It concluded by saying that if all of these things were done, Mr. Khrushchev would, as the head of the Soviet government, be ready to participate in the conference and do everything possible to contribute to its success.

I promptly told the Prime Minister that there was no possibility that I would apologize for acts that I thought necessary to the security of the United States, particularly in view of the proof in our hands of persistent and flagrant espionage activities in our nation by numbers of Soviet agents.

That same evening President de Gaulle invited Prime Minister Macmillan and me to join him at the Elysée Palace for preliminary discussions, especially of Khrushchev's note. I remarked that the Khrushchev complaint was about me and I saw no reason it should not have been made directly to me. Khrushchev had communicated with both President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan to register his protest and set forth his conditions but had made no move to inform me.

From *Waging Peace*, by Dwight D. Eisenhower (New York: Doubleday, 1965), pp. 553-556.

I frankly admitted to the Western members of the conference that the U-2 work we had carried on was both distasteful and disagreeable, but our relative intelligence position was so dangerous that I had decided there was no recourse. Both understood my reasons and appeared to be sympathetic. By no means did I intend, at the forthcoming conference, I told them, to raise my hand and swear that we would never again do anything in the field of espionage. I would not permanently tie the hands of the United States government for the single purpose of saving a conference.

Our conversation turned to the kind of reply that I should make to Khrushchev if he opened the meeting the following morning with a violent blast. President de Gaulle thought the best reply would be, "Everyone does this, you Soviets do it too."

At first the Prime Minister believed it possible that Khrushchev was being adamant because he had gotten into something of a spot at the Kremlin. Everyone agreed that the Soviet message, delivered to de Gaulle and Macmillan, had all the earmarks of one carefully prepared in Moscow. We wondered why Khrushchev bothered to come to Paris at all. Exchanges of communications between his government and ours had already put him on notice that I would never apologize.

President de Gaulle remarked that this particular incident should not be construed as the real cause of tension in the world. To this Prime Minister Macmillan replied that the incident merely provided evidence of the necessity for doing something to relieve tensions.

We then turned to a number of other subjects that could be expected to come up if there were a conference. In all these matters—the principal one was Berlin—there were no major disagreements.

We agreed that because Khrushchev's letter of complaint about me was sent to both de Gaulle and Macmillan, it would be appropriate, upon the convening of the conference on Monday morning, that the chairman (President de Gaulle) first recognize me so that I might promptly reply to the accusations already put before my two Western associates.

However, when the principals met the following morning, Khrushchev quickly broke up this arrangement. President de Gaulle, presiding, had not even finished calling the meeting to order before Khrushchev was on his feet, red-faced, loudly demanding the right to speak. General de Gaulle looked rather quizzically at me and upon my nod to him, turned to Khrushchev and said this would be quite satisfactory.

The chairman of the Soviet delegation then launched on a long diatribe, speaking from a prepared text. He not only repeated the allegations and demands made in the message previously sent to President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan, but went into a much longer dissertation on the reasons it had now become necessary for him to revoke the invitation that he had previously extended to me to visit the Soviet Union later in the spring.

The length of his explanation and the emphasis he gave to this subject clearly indicated that he was determined to keep me out of Russia. His document was repetitious, and at one point he became so vehement that I could not help grinning. He happened to notice this, and thereafter kept his eyes glued to the text of his speech.

I then asked for the floor and made a brief reply, restating the reason why my government had felt it necessary to conduct intelligence activities, pointing out that these activities had no aggressive intent but were to assure the safety of the United States and the Free World against surprise attack. I informed them that the overflights themselves, conducted by unarmed planes, were suspended and not to be resumed. I remarked also that if Mr. Khrushchev's basic purpose was to keep me out of his country he did not need to go into such a long and dreary explanation of why he chose to do so; a simple statement that I was no longer welcome would have served his purpose more quickly and just as conclusively.

I went on:

> I have come to Paris to seek agreements with the Soviet Union which would eliminate the necessity for all forms of espionage, including overflights. I see no reason to use this incident to disrupt the conference.
>
> Should it prove impossible, because of the Soviet attitude, to come to grips here in Paris with this problem and the other vital issues threatening world peace, I am planning in the near future to submit to the United Nations a proposal for the creation of a United Nations aerial surveillance to detect preparations for attack. This plan I had intended to place before this conference. This surveillance system would operate in the territories of all nations prepared to accept such inspection. For its part, the United States is prepared not only to accept United Nations aerial surveillance, but to do everything in its power to contribute to the rapid organization and successful operation of such international surveillance.
>
> We of the United States are here to consider in good faith the important problems before this conference. We are prepared to carry this point no further, nor to undertake bilateral conversations between the United States and the U.S.S.R. while the main conference proceeds.

When I finished, General de Gaulle made the interesting observation that within the last few days a Soviet satellite had been passing over France and for all that the French had been told about the nature of the orbiting vehicle, reconnaissance photographs could have been made of all French territory.

Khrushchev broke in to say he was talking about airplanes, not about satellites. He said any nation in the world who wanted to photograph the Soviet areas by satellites was completely free to do so.

In any event, deadlock was apparent, and Khrushchev, with his delegation, stalked out, saying that he was going to give his written statement to the press, at the moment of his own choosing. After his departure the three of us remained in informal conversations for a little time, discussing the whole performance. Both President de Gaulle and Prime Minister Macmillan suggested that Khrushchev was acting more like a student reciting a difficult lesson than as a person who was speaking his own convictions and beliefs.

As we walked out of the meeting, General de Gaulle touched me on the elbow and said, "Whatever happens, *we are with you.*" The loyalty of my two colleagues, de Gaulle and Macmillan, was the brightest spot in the whole affair.

PERESTROIKA

In this excerpt from the beginning of his book, Gorbachev explains why he thinks *perestroika* is necessary. Consider the questions below as you read.

1. The main idea of *perestroika* is to deal with what types of problems?
2. What specific evidence does Gorbachev cite to indicate that the Soviet economy is not performing at its potential?
3. In what way does the "gross output drive" hurt the Soviet economy? (Gross output drive refers to the tendency to meet or exceed quotas by producing quantities of goods.)
4. In what way were foreign currency earnings misspent?
5. How did these economic shortcomings impact people's lives and standard of living?
6. What was the "credibility gap" Gorbachev refers to?
7. Gorbachev mentions no names. To whom do you think his criticism is directed? How would you summarize the criticism?

* * * * *

Perestroika: Origins, Essence, Revolutionary Character

What is *perestroika*? What prompted the idea of restructuring? What does it mean in the history of socialism? What does it augur for the peoples of the Soviet Union? How might it influence the outside world? All these questions concern the world public and are being actively discussed. Let me begin with the first one.

Perestroika—An Urgent Necessity

I think one thing should be borne in mind when studying the origins and essence of *perestroika* in the USSR. *Perestroika* is no whim on the part of some ambitious individuals or a group of leaders. If it were, no exhortations, plenary meetings or even a party congress could have rallied the people to the work which we are now doing and which involves more and more Soviet people each day.

Perestroika is an urgent necessity arising from the profound processes of development in our socialist society. This society is ripe for change. It has long been yearning for it. Any delay in beginning *perestroika* could have led to an exacerbated internal situation in the near future, which, to put it bluntly, would have been fraught with serious social, economic and political crises.

We have drawn these conclusions from a broad and frank analysis of the situation that has developed in our society by the middle of the eighties. This situation and the problems arising from it presently confront the country's leadership, in which new people have gradually appeared in the last few years. I would like to discuss here the main results of this analysis, in the course of which we had to reassess many things and look back at our history, both recent and not so recent.

Excerpted from *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, by Mikhail Gorbachev (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), pp. 4-8. Copyright © 1987 by Mikhail Gorbachev. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

* * * * *

At some stage—this became particularly clear in the latter half of the seventies—something happened that was at first sight inexplicable. The country began to lose momentum. Economic failures became more frequent. Difficulties began to accumulate and deteriorate, and unresolved problems to multiply. Elements of what we call stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism began to appear in the life of society. A kind of "braking mechanism" affecting social and economic development formed. And all this happened at a time when scientific and technological revolution opened up new prospects for economic and social progress.

Something strange was taking place: the huge fly-wheel of a powerful machine was revolving, while either transmission from it to work places was skidding or drive belts were too loose.

Analyzing the situation, we first discovered a slowing economic growth. In the last fifteen years the national income growth rates had declined by more than a half and by the beginning of the eighties had fallen to a level close to economic stagnation. A country that was once quickly closing on the world's advanced nations began to lose one position after another. Moreover, the gap in the efficiency of production, quality of products, scientific and technological development, the production of advanced technology and the use of advanced techniques began to widen, and not to our advantage.

The gross output drive, particularly in heavy industry, turned out to be a "top-priority" task, just an end in itself. The same happened in capital construction, where a sizable portion of the national wealth became idle capital. There were costly projects that never lived up to the highest scientific and technological standards. The worker or the enterprise that had expended the greatest amount of labor, material and money was considered the best. It is natural for the producer to "please" the consumer, if I may put it that way. With us, however, the consumer found himself totally at the mercy of the producer and had to make do with what the latter chose to give him. This was again a result of the gross output drive.

It became typical of many of our economic executives to think not of how to build up the national asset, but of how to put more material, labor and working time into an item to sell it at a higher price. Consequently, for all the "gross output," there was a shortage of goods. We spent, in fact we are still spending, far more on raw materials, energy and other resources per unit of output than other developed nations. Our country's wealth in terms of natural and manpower resources has spoilt, one may even say corrupted, us. That, in fact, is chiefly the reason why it was possible for our economy to develop extensively for decades.

Accustomed to giving priority to quantitative growth in production, we tried to check the falling rates of growth, but did so mainly by continually increasing expenditures: we built up the fuel and energy industries and increased the use of natural resources in production.

As time went on, material resources became harder to get and more expensive. On the other hand, the extensive methods of fixed capital expansion resulted in an artificial shortage of manpower. In an attempt to rectify the situation somehow, large, unjustified, i.e., in fact unearned, bonuses began to be paid and all kinds of undeserved incentives introduced under the pressure of this shortage, that led, at a later stage, to the practice of padding reports merely for gain. Parasitical attitudes were on the rise, and the prestige of conscientious and high-quality labor began to diminish and a "wage-leveling" mentality was becoming widespread. The imbalance between the measure of work and the measure of consumption, which had become something like the linchpin of the braking mechanism, not only obstructed the growth of labor productivity, but led to the distortion of the principle of social justice.

So the inertia of extensive economic development was leading to an economic deadlock and stagnation.

The economy was increasingly squeezed financially. The sale of large quantities of oil and other fuel and energy resources and raw materials on the world market did not help. It only aggravated the

situation. Currency earnings thus made were predominantly used for tackling problems of the moment rather than on economic modernization or on catching up technologically.

Declining rates of growth and economic stagnation were found to affect other aspects of the life of Soviet society. Negative trends seriously affected the social sphere. This led to the appearance of the so-called "residual principle" in accordance with which social and cultural programs received what remained in the budget after allocations to production. A "deaf ear" sometimes seemed to be turned to social problems. The social sphere began to lag behind other spheres in areas of technological development, personnel, know-how and, most importantly, quality of work.

Here we have more paradoxes. Our society has ensured full employment and provided fundamental social guarantees. At the same time, we failed to use to the full the potential of socialism to meet the growing requirements in housing, in quality and sometimes quantity of foodstuffs, in the proper organization of the work of transport, in health services, in education and in tackling other problems which, naturally, arose in the course of society's development.

An absurd situation was developing. The Soviet Union, the world's biggest producer of steel, raw materials, fuel and energy, has shortfalls in them due to wasteful or inefficient use. One of the biggest producers of grain for food, it nevertheless has to buy millions of tons of grain a year for fodder. We have the largest number of doctors and hospital beds per thousand of the population and, at the same time, there are glaring shortcomings in our health services. Our rockets can find Halley's comet and fly to Venus with amazing accuracy, but side by side with these scientific and technological triumphs is an obvious lack of efficiency in using scientific achievements for economic needs, and many Soviet household appliances are of poor quality.

This, unfortunately, is not all. A gradual erosion of the ideological and moral values of our people began.

It was obvious to everyone that the growth rates were sharply dropping and that the entire mechanism of quality control was not working properly; there was a lack of receptivity to the advances in science and technology; the improvement in living standards was slowing down and there were difficulties in the supply of foodstuffs, housing, consumer goods and services.

On the ideological plane as well, the braking mechanism brought about ever greater resistance to the attempts to constructively scrutinize the problems that were emerging and to the new ideas. Propaganda of success—real or imagined—was gaining the upper hand. Eulogizing and servility were encouraged; the needs and opinions of ordinary working people, of the public at large, were ignored.

* * * * *

The presentation of a "problem-free" reality backfired: a breach had formed between word and deed, which bred public passivity and disbelief in the slogans being proclaimed. It was only natural that this situation resulted in a credibility gap: everything that was proclaimed from the rostrums and printed in newspapers and textbooks was put in question. Decay began in public morals; the great feeling of solidarity with each other that was forged during the heroic times of the Revolution, the first five-year plans, the Great Patriotic War and postwar rehabilitation was weakening; alcoholism, drug addiction and crime were growing; and the penetration of the stereotypes of mass culture alien to us, which bred vulgarity and low tastes and brought about ideological barrenness, increased.

Party guidance was relaxed, and initiative lost in some of the vital social processes. Everybody started noticing the stagnation among the leadership and the violation of the natural process of change there. At a certain stage this made for a poorer performance by the Politburo[1] and the Secretariat[2] of the CPSU Central Committee, by the government and throughout the entire Central Committee and the Party apparatus, for that matter.

Political flirtation and the mass distribution of awards, titles and bonuses often replaced genuine concern for the people, for their living and working conditions, for a favorable social atmosphere. An atmosphere emerged of "everything goes," and fewer and fewer demands were made on discipline and responsibility. Attempts were made to cover it all up with pompous campaigns and undertakings and celebrations of numerous anniversaries centrally and locally. The world of day-to-day realities and the world of feigned prosperity were diverging more and more.

Many Party organizations in the regions were unable to uphold principles or to attack with determination bad tendencies, slack attitudes, the practice of covering up for one another and lax discipline. More often than not, the principles of equality among Party members were violated. Many Party members in leading posts stood beyond control and criticism, which led to failures in work and to serious malpractices.

At some administrative levels there emerged a disrespect for the law and encouragement of eyewash and bribery, servility and glorification. Working people were justly indignant at the behavior of people who, enjoying trust and responsibility, abused power, suppressed criticism, made fortunes, and in some cases, even became accomplices—if not organizers of—criminal acts.

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[1] *Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee*—the collective leadership body of the Communist Party (CPSU) Central Committee, which is elected at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee to guide the Party work between the plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee.

[2] *Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee*—a body of the CPSU Central Committee which is elected at a plenary meeting of the Central Committee to supervise the Party's day-to-day work, mainly in selecting the cadres and organizing the verification of the fulfillment of the decisions adopted.

17. PLANNING A STUDENT-GENERATED UNIT ON RUSSIA AND THE NEWLY INDEPENDENT STATES

Introduction:

If students are enrolled in a Russian history class, they expect Russian history. Texts are written to satisfy this need. The needs are much more complex in a current issues class, the course for which this unit is intended. Students choose such classes because they see the immediate relevance of what they study. Teachers therefore need to build on the expectations of students, helping them find answers to their questions. Experience has shown that students' perceptions and questions prior to use of a student-generated curriculum cover the spectrum from uninformed to appropriate, yet as the study continues the first perceptions and questions generated by the students give way to more complex and profound questions.

The process of asking questions and seeking answers has no end. Students who are challenged to become involved in the learning process will continue to ask questions, form hypotheses, test their hypotheses, and ask more questions. This approach teaches a process that will help students understand complex issues throughout their lives: rarely are there quick answers to questions. Reasons for contemporary problems are often rooted in history. Studying contemporary issues requires a familiarity with history, an awareness of current circumstances, and an understanding that different people respond to similar circumstances in different ways.

As one student put it to her parents at a parent/teacher conference, "This class is neat; we study history backwards." By using the discovery approach, the students generate questions from current issues and attempt to find answers from a historical perspective. Since the students elect the class, agree through consensus upon the unit of study, ask the questions, and conduct research to help satisfy their curiosity, they remain engaged in the learning process throughout. Because the questions the students ask are so diverse, their interests and abilities so varied, and the issues so complex, the students and teacher necessarily depend on the full and responsible participation of all involved to complete satisfactorily each unit of study.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Describe aspects of life in today's Russia.

2. Ask, classify, and refine questions to guide study.

3. Recognize that current problems have their roots in history.

Materials and Preparation: Make a variety of information sources available to students. These might include a weekly newsmagazine (*Time, Newsweek,* and/or *U.S. News and World Report*), several daily newspapers, a world atlas (*Goode's World Atlas* or *The New State of the World Atlas*), and the news portion of a morning television program. You may also want to make copies of Handout 17-1.

Time Required: The planning activity takes 2-3 class periods. The unit that results may be expanded or not as the teacher chooses.

Procedure:

1. Invite students to free-write for five minutes on "whatever comes to mind when they think of communism, Russia, USSR." Collect the free-writing and type these statements to be copied for class the next day. Typically, each statement is about one paragraph long.

Activity developed by Larry Fowler, Mayo High School, Rochester, Minnesota.

As an alternative, have students work in pairs to generate a list of 10-15 things about Russia or the USSR. Ask a student volunteer to write items on the board as you call on pairs to contribute. Have a second volunteer neatly copy the list from the board. Duplicate that list and distribute it for the next day's question writing.

2. Distribute the typed free-written expressions. Ask each student to develop ten questions after considering the compilation.

3. Ask students to look at their questions and develop categories in which to group the questions. Ask students to call out a category and write the categories on the board. When the students believe that all of their questions can fit in the categories listed on the board, the first part of the activity is complete. Categories might include social issues, US/Russian relations, government, geography, arms control, economy, daily life, space technology, national resources, and world power. Students can be encouraged to reduce or expand the number of categories as the teacher wishes.

4. Divide the class into groups representing the categories listed on the board. Each student is asked to separate his or her ten questions and give the questions to the appropriate category groups. Each group now has all the questions in its category. The students in each group then compile the list of questions in their category.

5. The categorized questions then should be typed and presented to the students as the basis for research and study. The research can be conducted and presented in a wide variety of ways. Three examples are given in the **Teacher Background Information**. The chief role of the teacher is to facilitate the gathering and presentation of information by the students.

Evaluation:

When all the student-questions have been answered during class time, assign a position paper, debate, and/or a written test to assess student learning.

Extension/Enrichment:

One of my objectives in this course is to encourage students to learn how to present their own opinions and to support them with facts and reasoned argument. For this reason, I often provide them with readings that consider the same event or problem from different points of view. The *Opposing Viewpoints* series (Reference section) is one good source for such statements. Handout 17-1 may be used to help students formulate and argue for their own opinions. It asks students to develop a point of view about Russia's reforms, but its general structure can be adapted for a writing assignment on any controversial issue.

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Teacher Background Information:

In 1990, my students turned out to be most interested in the following general themes:

1. Will *perestroika* and *glasnost* work?

Students used resources in our school library, history texts, newspapers and magazines, and "experts" who had traveled in and/or studied the Soviet Union to gather information about the theory of communism and political and economic trends in Russia and the Soviet Union. They gathered enough information so that they could make their own predictions.

2. Should we be afraid that the Soviet Union and the United States will go to war with each other?

Students used narrative and documented texts to focus on east/west relations post-World War II, including arms talks and nuclear issues. They developed positions they could defend in class debates/discussions.

3. How can we continue to learn more about the people who live in the Soviet Union?

Students sought out people who had traveled in the Soviet Union or studied the diversity of the Soviet people, watched videotapes, and explored possibilities of travel to the Soviet Union and correspondence with Soviet people.

Teachers need to expect that students' questions and concerns will drive the unit. Facilitator and guide are the key roles of the instructor. The students need help in determining the authenticity of sources and in providing a balanced approach. I often found that I had the "right" answer and that I could save the students a considerable amount of time if I would "provide" the "correct" answer to their questions. Students are quick to pick up on this and will rely on the teacher if he/she is willing to provide quick answers—thus destroying the basic purpose of this process for teaching about world problems. Students can be encouraged to a greater or lesser extent to seek material from the Russian and/or Soviet past and to discuss issues in terms of historical continuity, as the teacher wishes.

WRITING A POSITION PAPER

Guidelines:

Your position paper should address some aspect of the changes Russian leaders have announced. The paper could address the purpose, need, or inevitability of change; your opinion concerning the likelihood of change and the reasons those changes are needed; or the strengths and/or weaknesses of the current system. Your position paper could focus on U.S. policy options. You could argue that the United States should welcome or try to block Russian efforts to become more a part of the world economy. You could focus on security issues and arms agreements. You could discuss whether the United States should aid Russia.

You will need to understand the current status of the Russian economy including standard of living, central planning, extent to which privitization and decentralization have occurred, availability of consumer goods, agriculture, industry, and military sectors of the economy; human rights; the political system; and trade. You should know how the international monetary fund works and the World Bank and their policies toward Russia.

You will need to narrow your topic to a specific point. It would be difficult to take the entire Russian system and "cover it" in your position paper. You will need to be a specialist—knowing full well that your position will not completely represent all the issues that are relevant.

The Four Parts of a Position Paper:

1. State your position (thesis statement) in your first paragraph. Phrase your position as a statement. Limit your position to one opinion. Avoid using biased wording in your position statement.

2. In the rest of the first paragraph, clarify your position statement. You may define or explain key terms in your position, qualify or limit your position, provide background information, and/or give an example or specific application of your position statement.

3. Present supporting evidence—facts, opinions of experts, opinions based on common experience, and/or opinions based on reasoning as evidence. Your supporting evidence is your reasoning. You might lend strength to your position paper by refuting the opposing points of view. In any case, it is wise to know what these opposition viewpoints are.

4. Conclude your position paper with a paragraph restating your position statement in different words, recommending an action based on the position statement, and/or stating a personal judgment that is based on your position statement.

Write in the active voice. Do not use the first person. Credit your sources in parentheses (author, date, page; Jones, 1982, 23). Provide a works-cited page.

18. RUSSIAN-AMERICAN SELF-IMAGES: A CRITICAL THINKING UNIT

Introduction:

These exercises are keyed to materials excerpted from various American and Russian/Soviet sources and might best be employed upon the *completion* of a unit in Russian history. After reading two collections of "mini-documents," students will be asked to make some judgments concerning "self-image" of the two peoples. Teachers may want to point out that in both cases, minorities or other critics might suggest a different view. It is the prevailing self-images that are presented here.

Peoples as diverse as the ancient Hebrews and the Cheyenne of the American West have regarded themselves as historically unique, burdened by a special generational purpose. In most cases, this sense of mission and ethnic destiny evolves from something more culturally intense than mere "identity." Though it is impossible to measure scientifically the dimensions of this phenomenon, it usually has more substance than the flashes of self-definition that accompany great and unusual events in a people's history.

In preparing to use these exercises, it might be well for the instructor to think first of the development of the "Third Rome" theme in Russian history: The city of St. Peter had long ago fallen to the German barbarians. Then in 1453 Constantinople was stormed by the Turks. Thereafter, Muscovy looked upon itself as the "Third Rome," the legitimate spiritual leader of Christendom. Does this old cultural fragment offer opportunities for understanding the Russians that an advanced student should confront? Was any part of it carried over in secular form to the new Soviet state, which repeatedly claimed for its socialist society the role of international model?

As to our own historical journey—what about the notion that America is obliged to build a "City on a Hill"? Are we in fact a lamp unto the nations in the cause of democracy, or is this ideal nothing more than the last best hope of our national mythology?

Variations of both of these themes have persisted into the modern era, stubbornly clinging to the materialist webbing of both cultures. Their continued existence naturally seems to seek both comparisons and contrasts, and perhaps more detailed study than we might normally contemplate at our level of instruction. Arguments of ideology or "moral equivalency" aside, they offer the secondary classroom interesting sources of academic fodder.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Identify ways both Americans and Russians have commented upon their cultural growth.

2. Develop skills and insights associated with academic self-reliance (e.g., the necessity for following detailed directions).

3. Form and evaluate historical generalizations.

4. Identify bias and differentiate between fact and opinion.

5. Clarify historical issues by "comparing and contrasting."

6. Develop insights into the complexities of a people's self-image, especially in those areas where national ambition is touched by idealism, a sense of mission, and elements of collective doubt.

Activity developed by Robert A. Cole, Social Studies Coordinator, Whitman-Hanson Regional School District, Whitman, Massachusetts.

Materials and Preparation: As many of the activities are tied to specific critical thinking skills, it is best to model some of the tasks before the students begin their work. This is especially important when formulating and evaluating *historical generalizations*, writing precise *topic sentences*, etc. An example is provided in step 2 of the procedure, but you may choose to do this preparation in another way. You will need copies of the handouts provided with the activity.

Time Required: 2 to 4 class periods, depending upon how many of the tasks/projects are assigned for homework and in what manner the teacher chooses to assign work.

Procedure:

1. Explain to the class that the Russian culture, though it was dominant in many respects, was *one* of many cultures that made up both the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union.

2. Review what a historian means when using the term *generalization*. As most of the students will have had some background in their own country's history, this idea might be reinforced more effectively within the more familiar American context. For example, on the chalkboard write these examples: "F.D.R. was our greatest president." "No cause of the Civil War can be separated completely from the slavery issue." "The Revolutionary War could not have been won without French aid." Then ask the class to furnish historical data and/or sound academic judgments to support (or undermine) these generalizations. In the third case, for example, one might list the following from an American perspective at the time of the Alliance of 1778:

- The military struggle between a "Great Power" and its colonies was essentially unequal.
- The impact upon American morale was both favorable and immediate at a time when only about 1/3 of the American people actively supported the Revolution.
- Ensuing international benefits included the fact that America was no longer diplomatically isolated.
- The American war effort was in vital need of financial assistance.
- France became a dependable supplier of critically needed battlefield equipment of various types.
- French naval and ground forces tipped the scale in several campaigns (e.g., Yorktown).

3. Distribute Handouts 18-1, 18-2, and 18-3 and go over the assignment with students. Allow time for students to complete the work, some of which can be done as homework.

4. Allow time for students to discuss their findings with the class. Any of the following questions can also be used for discussion:

- If one hopes for a fuller understanding of American and Russian/Soviet cultures, what are the most important topics raised in the mini-documents that require intense study and research? Explain *how* you made your choices.
- Given what you have learned in this exercise, what predictions would you make about Russian/American relations in the future? Can you justify your opinions with specific evidence?
- Why do some cultures believe that they have been set apart for a special purpose, while others do not?
- What do you think were the five highest ideals of an American citizen in the early 19th century? of a Russian? How do you think those two lists would change if you were to make them out for both peoples today?
- List those elements that would go into making up a good definition of the word *nationalism*. To your way of thinking, what is the most important function of this concept in the lives of modern people?

- List the ten most important historical events in both countries. In general terms, what do the lists have in common? What are their most outstanding differences? How do you account for such differences?
- Do you believe that the public media in the United States and the former Soviet Union accurately reflect the values of both societies?
- In his poem "Message to Siberia," Alexander Pushkin (1799-1837), the master of 19th-century Russian poetry, wrote:

> The heavy-handing chains will fall
> The walls will crumble at a word;
> And Freedom greet you in the light,
> And brothers give you back the sword.

Pushkin believed Russia would "rouse from her long sleep" someday and achieve political freedom. Do you believe that it has? Explain.

- What are the most fundamental ways in which American stereotypical attitudes on life in the USSR differ from Soviet "self-image"?
- The great Ukrainian satirical novelist Nikolai Gogol (1809-1852) wrote in *An Author's Confessions*: "But what if we must laugh, why not laugh at what really deserves to be laughed at by us all. In my *The Inspector General* I decided to bring together and to deride all that is bad in Russia." If Gogol were alive today, what aspects of Russian *and* American life would make him laugh?
- The late Soviet balladeer/actor Vladimir Vysotsky said, "Poets walk barefoot on the knife's edge." What do you think he meant by this? In the light of his great popularity in Russia, how do you account for the fact that he was virtually unknown in the United States?
- When the Soviet humorists Ilf and Petrov visited the United States in the 1930s, a movie executive reportedly told them: "It is not by chance that we make idiotic films. We are ordered to make them.... Hollywood is intentionally stuffing Americans' heads with nonsense, stupefying them with their films." If this episode is true, do you think the Russian visitors would find that much has changed in American popular culture since that time? Do you believe that TV and movies give an accurate view of the way Americans see themselves?
- Of all your favorite movies and TV shows, which do you think might be best received by a family audience in Russia? Which would be least likely to enjoy success?
- How do you think leisure time activities in the United States and the USSR differed for little children? for teens? for the elderly? for working mothers? for political leaders? Does the way people spend their leisure time indicate qualities that you might find in their "national character"?
- What American sport or game not currently popular in Russia might become so in the future? Explain.
- In his book *Russia: Broken Idols, Solemn Dreams*, the American journalist David K. Shipler has written that Russians have a "desperate fear" of *besporyadok* (literally, "disorder"). To what extent do you think this was true of Soviet society? Why is it that the same factor seems to play such a small part in American culture?
- Solzhenitsyn has said that, "Russia is authoritarian. Let it remain so, and let us no longer try to change that. But the authoritarian system must be based on genuine concern and love on the part of the rulers, not only for themselves and those around them, but also for all their people and all their neighboring peoples too." Do you think the great novelist's views are "representative"? If so, why?
- How would you explain to a curious Russian why network TV commercials routinely make American men, women, and children look and act like morons?

5. Divide the class into groups of four or five students and distribute Handout 18-4. Have the groups complete the handout.

6. Conduct a concluding discussion focused on the following question: Whom do you believe are the three most reliable commentators in each collection? Explain *how* you came to your conclusions.

Evaluation:

Any assortment of the activities/exercises included in this unit can be given as graded assignments in order to measure academic progress.

Enrichment/Extension:

1. Many scholars believe that because of the variables involved, "national character" as such cannot exist. In spite of its unscientific nature, the concept does lend itself to interesting—and profitable—discussions, especially as a class explores the shaky academic foundations of the ethnic stereotype. To follow up on the lesson, have students think of all they have learned about the beliefs, values, and traits of the Russian and American peoples. Have students list things that would be descriptive of the national character of both peoples.

2. Prepare the class for a formal debate on the following issue—Resolved: "A people's self-image is nothing more than the end product of a national mythology." Divide the class into two teams. Choose one student for the "Moderator" role, and be sure to allow time for rebuttal arguments.

3. Distribute Handout 18-5 and allow students to pick projects to complete.

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AMERICAN HISTORICAL SELF-IMAGE

1. Having undertaken, for the glory of God and the advancements of the Christian faith and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia [i.e., New England], do by these presents [this document] solemnly and mutually in the presence of God, and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic; for better ordering, and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal lawes, ordinances, Acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony: unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.

The *Mayflower Compact*, 1620

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2. ...we shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when He shall make us a praise and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations [i.e., colonies]: the Lord make it like that of New England; for we must consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us; so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken and so cause Him to withdraw His present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword through the world....

"A Model of Christian Charity," written by the Massachusetts Puritan leader John Winthrop on board the ship *Arbella* as it approached Salem harbor in June 1630

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3. Sir, when we that have been the eldest, and are rotting (tomorrow or the next day) a generation will act, I fear, far unlike the first Winthrops and their models of Love: I fear that the common Trinity of the world (Profit, Preferment, Pleasure) will here be the *tria omnia*, as in all the world beside...that god "Land" will be (as now it is) as great a god with us English as god "Gold" was with the Spaniards.

Roger Williams to John Winthrop, Jr. in 1664

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4. It is indeed an animating thought that while we are securing the rights of ourselves and our posterity, we are pointing out the way to struggling nations, who wish like us to emerge from their tyrranies also.

Thomas Jefferson in a letter to Hunter, 1790

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5. I always consider the settlement of America as the opening of a grand scheme and design in Providence for the illumination of the ignorant and the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth.

John Adams, 2nd President of the U.S.

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6. Our system is to live in perpetual peace with the Indians, to cultivate an affectionate attachment from them, by everything just and liberal which we can do for them within the bounds of reason....

Thomas Jefferson to William H. Harrison, 1803

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7. But an evil day came upon us; your forefathers crossed the great waters and landed on this island. Their numbers were small; they found friends and not enemies; they told us they had fled from their own country for fear of wicked men, and come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat; we took pity on them, granted their request, and they sat down amongst us; we gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison in return.

Chief Red Jacket's reply to a missionary in Buffalo, New York, 1805

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8. ...before the establishment of the American States, nothing was known to history but the man of the old world, crowded within limits either small or overcharged, and steeped in the vices which that situation generates.

Thomas Jefferson in a letter to John Adams, 1813

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9. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us.

Senator Daniel Webster about the American nation, in an 1825 Bunker Hill Day speech to a battlefield audience that included many veterans of the Revolutionary War

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10. Fellow-citizens, we cannot escape History. We of this Congress and this administration, will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance, or insignificance, can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass, will light us down, in honor or dishonor, to the latest generation. We say we are for the Union. The world will not forget that we say this... We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last best hope of the earth.....

Abraham Lincoln, *Second Annual Message to Congress*, 1862

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11. THE NEW COLLOSUS

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land;
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightning, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command
The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame.

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips, "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"

Emma Lazarus, 1881

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12. It is a noble land that God has given us.... It is a glorious history our God has bestowed upon his chosen people; a history heroic with faith in mission and our future; a history of statesmen who flung the boundaries of the Republic out into unexplored lands and savage wilderness; a history of soldiers who carried the flag to the gates of sunset; a history of a multiplying people who overran a continent in half a century; a history of prophets who saw the consequences of evils inherited from the past and of martyrs who died to save us from them; a history divinely logical, in the process of whose tremendous reasoning we find ourselves today.

Albert J. Beveridge, "The March of the Flag," a speech delivered in Indianapolis, September 16, 1898

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13. As long ago as the very beginning of our republic, its founders saw that the cities were the danger-spots in their plan. In them was the peril of democratic government.

Jacob A. Riis, "The Battle with the Slum," 1902

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14. ...for a transitory enchanted moment man must have held his breath in the presence of this continent, compelled into an esthetic contemplation he neither understood nor desired, face to face for the last time in history with something commensurate to his capacity for wonder.

F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Great Gatsby*, 1925

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15. And what have been the results of our American system? Our country has become the land of opportunity to those born without inheritance, not merely because of the wealth of its resources and industry but because of this freedom of initiative and enterprise. Russia has natural resources equal to ours. Her people are equally industrious, but she has not had the blessings of one hundred and fifty years of our form of government and our social system.

Herbert Hoover, "On American Individualism," a speech given at Madison Square Garden, October 22, 1928

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16. ...America has gone through...revolutionary change from rustic colony to world-empire without having in the least altered the bucolic and Puritanic simplicity of Uncle Sam.

Sinclair Lewis, Nobel address "The American Fear of Literature," December 12, 1930

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17. Since the beginning of our American history, we have been engaged in change—in a perpetual peaceful revolution—a revolution which goes on steadily, quietly adjusting itself to changing conditions—without the concentration camp or the quicklime in the ditch. The world order which we seek is the cooperation of free countries, working together in a friendly, civilized society...This nation has placed its destiny in the hands and heads and hearts of its millions of free men and women; and its faith in freedom under the guidance of God.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's Annual Message to Congress [the "Four Freedoms" speech], January 6, 1941

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18. The free peoples of the world look to us for support in maintaining their freedoms... If we falter in our leadership, we may endanger the peace of the world—and we shall surely endanger the welfare of our own Nation... Great responsibilities have been placed upon us by the swift movement of events.

Harry S Truman, the "Truman Doctrine," March 12, 1947, which established a policy designed to check the spread of Communism [first applied to Turkey and Greece]

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19. Any government which maneuvers to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom, politically or otherwise, will encounter the opposition of the United States.

Secretary of State George C. Marshall's Harvard address announcing the "Marshall Plan," June 5, 1947

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20. "In their dying, in that swift, so aptly celebrated double departure, is something that shakes an American to the heart. It was not their great fame, their long lives or even the record of their work that made these two seem indestructible. It was their faith, their boundless, unquenchable hope in the future, their sure, immortal belief that mankind if it so desired could be free."

Historian Catherine Drinker Bowen commenting upon the death of Adams and Jefferson on the same day: July 4, 1826, in *John Adams and the American Revolution*, 1949

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21. In the long history of the world, only a few generations have been granted the role of defending freedom in its hour of maximum danger.... The energy, the faith, the devotion which we bring to this endeavor will light the country and all who serve it—and the glow from that fire can truly light the world... And so, my fellow Americans: Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country...

John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, 1961

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22. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed. We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal.... I have a dream that my little children will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.... This is our hope. This is the faith that I will go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a new stone of hope....

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., speech at the Lincoln Memorial, 1963

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23. Our freedom or growth have never been the final goal of the American dream. We were never meant to be an oasis of liberty and abundance in a world-wide desert of disappointed dreams. Our nation was created to help strike away the chains of ignorance and misery and tyranny where they keep man less than God means him to be....What is at stake is the cause of freedom, and in that cause America will never be found wanting.

Lyndon B. Johnson, Annual Message to Congress, 1965 (by the end of the year there would be more than 150,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam)

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24. In advancing freedom, we Americans carry a special burden—a belief in the dignity of man in the sight of the God who gave birth to this country. This is central to our being.

Ronald Reagan, address to the nation, November 14, 1985

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25. The country, of course, was founded by visionaries. "We must consider that we shall be a City Upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us," John Winthrop told his Puritan company crossing the Atlantic to found the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The remarkable thing was that four centuries later Americans were still self-consciously building cities on a hill.

Frances Fitzgerald (holder of both the Pulitzer and Bancroft Prizes) in *Cities on a Hill*, 1986

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26. A constant of America's national character...has been a messianic impulse, sometimes mild, sometimes not. It rises from the belief that national identity is bound up with acceptance of a responsibility to further democracy.

Nationally syndicated newspaper writer George Will, December 1989

RUSSIAN/SOVIET HISTORICAL SELF-IMAGE

1. And [the Tatars] took the city of Riazan on the 21st day of December....[They] cut down many people, including women and children. Still others were drowned in the river. And they killed without exception all monks and priests.... And the churches of God were destroyed, and much blood was spilled on the holy altars. And not one man remained alive in the city....All were dead. And this happened for our sins.

"The sack of Riazan" during the invasion of the Tatars under Batu Khan

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2. The Sovereign is absolute; for there is no other authority but that which centers in his single person that can act with a Vigor proportionate to the extent of such a vast dominion....Every other form of government whatsoever would not only have been prejudicial to Russia, but would even have proved its entire ruin.

The Nakaz of Catherine the Great (nos. 9 and 11)

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3. Victory is not something signalized by the fastening of certain strips of cloth called flags to poles, nor by the space on which troops have stood or are standing; victory is moral, when the other side has been persuaded as to the moral superiority of the other and of its own weakness; and such a victory was won by the Russians over the French at Borodino.

Leo Tolstoy's commentary on the 1812 battle (which historians regard as a "costly" French victory) in *War and Peace*

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4. To make sure that the unity of Europe will come about organically and harmoniously, a definite center must exist, a nation that dominates the others by virtue of its political and cultural superiority. All the great European nations [are exhausted]. America is merely a projection of them. Only Russia, though she is not European and perhaps for that very reason, remains capable of restoring Europe by bringing it into conformity with the Russian genius.

Ivan Kireyevsky in the "Slavophile" magazine *Europa!*, 1837

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5. Russia has never had anything in common with the rest of Europe. The history of Russia requires another thought—another formula.

The poet Aleksander Pushkin, 1830

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6. We believe the Russian people to be unique in the history of mankind. The Russian character is so different from that of any other European people that Europeans can only understand it back-to-front.

Fyodor Dostoevsky, novelist, political and religious thinker, 1861

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7. B: "Aristocracy, liberalism, Progress, Principles, just think, what a lot of foreign—and useless—words! Russians have not the least need of them."

PP: "...the Russian people is not what you imagine it to be. It has a holy respect for traditions, it is—a patriarchal people. It cannot live without faith."

Dialogue in Ivan Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons*, 1862: Paul Petrovich is a "liberal" gentleman who favors "English ways." Bazarov is a *Nihilist*, "a man who takes no principles for granted, however much they may be respected."

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8. ...The situation of Russia in central Asia is similar to that of all civilized states that come into contact with half-savage nomadic tribes without a firm social organization. In such cases, the interests of border security and trade relations always require that the more civilized state have a certain authority over its neighbors, whose wild and unruly customs render them very troublesome.

Prince Alexander Gorchakov on Imperial Russia's occupation of Uzbekistan, 1864

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9. You cannot understand Russia with logic,
You cannot measure her with a common yardstick.
She has a nature of her own,
You can only believe in her.

Fyodor Tyutchev, nobleman, Tsarist official, and Russia's first "Symbolist" poet, 1866

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10. Her internal structure being alien to the European world... Russia can acquire a distinguished place in history for herself and for Slavdom in no other way than as the leader of a unique, independent political system of states....

Nikolai Danielevski, philosopher of "Pan-Slavism" (and an advocate of the establishment of a Russian-dominated union of Slavic, Greek, and Romanian peoples) in *Russia and Europe*, 1871

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11. If necessary, we shall draw the sword on behalf of [Europe's] oppressed and unfortunate, even though to the detriment of our immediate advantage. But let at the same time our faith grow still firmer that precisely herein lies Russia's genuine mission.... Somewhere at least [Christ's] truth must be preserved; some nation at least must radiate. Otherwise what would happen?

Fyodor Dostoevsky, *The Diary of a Writer*, 1876

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12. God will save His own people, for great is Russia in her humility.

The character Father Zosima in Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* ,1879

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13. The economic relations of Russia with western Europe are fully comparable to the relations of colonial countries with their metropolises....Russia is an independent and strong power. She has the right and the strength not to want to be the eternal handmaiden of states which are more developed economically....

From "A Secret Memorandum of Sergei Witte on the Industrialization of Russia," submitted to Tsar Nicholas II, 1899

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14. Only in communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has been completely crushed, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are not classes (i.e., when there is no difference between the members of society as regards their relation to the social means of production), *only* then "the state...ceases to exist," and it *"becomes possible to speak of freedom."*

V.I. Lenin, *Selected Works*, Vol. 2

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15. We are internationalists. We aim at the firm union and full fusion of the workers and peasants of all the nations of the world into a single, worldwide Soviet Republic.

V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 24

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16. ...We stand for organized Terror—this should be frankly admitted. Terror is an absolute necessity during times of revolution. Our aim is to fight against the enemies of the Soviet Government and *the new order of life.*

Felix Dzerzhinsky, head of the Cheka (Secret Police), 1918

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17. The lads have all gone to the wars
to serve in the Red Guard—
to serve in the Red Guard—
and risk their hot heads for the cause.
Hell and damnation,
life is such fun
with a ragged greatcoat
and a Jerry gun!

To smoke the nobs out of their holes
we'll light a fire through all the world,
a bloody fire through all the world—
Lord, bless our souls.

From "The Twelve," Alexander Blok's poem on the October Revolution of 1917

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18. It's dirty work we're doing, but we must retain full consciousness of our responsibility to the Party. Understand rightly what I am saying. (He laid extra emphasis on this phrase.) And we must preserve humanity. Of necessity we are physically exterminating the counterrevolutionaries, but we mustn't make a circus of the job. You understand me? Well, that's good. Now go and take over.

The chairman of a Revolutionary Tribunal during the Civil War to the character Bunchuk in Mikhail Sholokov's novel, *And Quiet Flows the Don*, 1934

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19. So you see, the whole of this nineteenth century—its revolutions in Paris, its generations of Russian exiles starting with Herzen, its assassinations of Tsars, some only plotted, others carried out, the whole of the workers' movement of the world, the whole of Marxism in the parliaments and universities of Europe, the whole of this new system of ideas with its newness, the swiftness of its conclusions, its irony and its pitiless remedies elaborated in the name of pity—all of this was absorbed and expressed in Lenin, who fell upon the old world as the personified retribution for its misdeeds.

And side by side with him there arose before the eyes of the world the vast figure of Russia bursting into flames like a light of redemption for all the sorrows and misfortunes of mankind.

The ill-fated character Strelnikov to Zhivago in Boris Pasternak's novel, *Dr. Zhivago*, 1957

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20. The international policy of the USSR is a peace policy....it is merely another—under present conditions—more advantageous form of fighting capitalism.

Resolution of the VI World Congress of the Communist International, 1928

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21. Nothing is forgotten, nothing can be forgotten! Our memory still makes our hearts bleed. It makes us more intransigent in the face of any attempt to impose upon the peoples a new war in any part of the globe.

Poet Olga Berggolts (1910-1975), writing on the siege of Leningrad and on the aftermath of the "Great Patriotic War" (1941-1945), in which 20 million Soviet citizens died

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22. The road that led Russia to socialism is the highroad of world history, of the whole human civilization. Distinctive as Russian conditions were, the October Revolution nevertheless expressed the basic major trends of an entire historical epoch...prepared by the entire course of world social- economic development....The homeland country of October, the land of victorious socialism was, is, and will continue to be the hope and mainstay of all the oppressed, of all who are fighting for peace, freedom, and the happiness of peoples.

Leonid Brezhnev, speech on the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, 1967

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23. Peaceful coexistence ensures conditions for the oppressed nations to inflict telling victories upon colonialism and neocolonialism for the worldwide victory of Socialism.

I. Shalatov in *Lenin and the Revolution in the East*, an ideological handbook, 1969

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24. The idea of justice is motivated by hatred of everything outstanding, which we [Russians] make no effort to imitate, but, on the contrary, try to bring down to our own level, by hatred of any sense of initiative, of any higher or more dynamic way of life than the life we live ourselves. This psychology is, of course, most typical of the peasantry and least typical of the "middle class." However, the peasants and those of peasant origin constitute the overwhelming majority of our country....

To the majority of the [Russian] people the very word "freedom" is synonymous with "disorder" or the opportunity to indulge with impunity in some kind of antisocial or dangerous activity....

Soviet dissident historian (and emigré) Andrei Amalrik in *Will the Soviet Union Survive Until 1984?*, 1969

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25. Russia is authoritarian. Let it remain so, and let us no longer try to change that. But the authoritarian system must be based on genuine concern and love on the part of the rulers, not only for themselves and those around them, but also for all their people, and all the neighboring peoples too.

Novelist Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, 1973

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26. Marxism-Leninism is the textbook for achieving Socialist world revolution and the building of a new society in every country of the world.

Communist Party General Secretary Yuri V. Andropov, during his earlier tenure as head of the KGB, 1979

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27. Our response to events in Afghanistan was a lofty act of loyalty to the principal of proletarian internationalism, which was necessary to defend the interests of our Motherland.

Yuri V. Andropov after his appointment to the Secretariat of the Central Committee, 1982

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28. The Socialist commonwealth is not some sort of isolated political continent. Its achievements serve all of mankind.

President Leonid Brezhnev, 1982

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29. Our country regards as its historic responsibility the building of an impregnable barrier on the road of imperialism's inhumane course. We are motivated by a concern not only for the security of the Soviet people and of the fraternal peoples in the socialist countries, but also the future of civilization as a whole.

Mikhail Gorbachev, "Leninism: A Living and Creative Science—A Faithful Guide to Action," speech at the Moscow meeting to mark the 113th Anniversary of Lenin's Birth, April 22, 1983 (pub. in *A Time for Peace*, 1985)

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30. "My Generation Looks Into the World, My Generation Feels the Pain"

Soviet rock group *Alisa*, 1986

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31. We are Europeans. Old Russia was united with Europe by Christianity and the millenium of its arrival in the land of our ancestors will be marked next year. The history of Russia is an organic part of the great European history.

Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World*, 1987

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32. What conclusions have we drawn from the lessons of history? First, Socialism as a social system has proved that it has immense potentialities for resolving the most complex problems of social progress. We are convinced of its capacity for self-perfection....

Mikhail Gorbachev, *Perestroika*

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33. "Sensitivity, reverie, imagination, an inclination to tears, compassion, submission mingled with stubborness, patience that permits survival in what would seem to be unbearable circumstances, poetry, mysticism, fatalism, a penchant for walking in the dark humid back streets of consciousness, introspection, sudden unmotivated cruelty, mistrust of rational thought, fascination with the world—the list could go on forever...."

Russian writer Tatyana Tolstaya writing on the concept of "Russian Soul" in *New York Review of Books*, May 31, 1990

EVALUATING NATIONAL SELF-IMAGES

Follow directions carefully. Handouts 18-1 and 18-2 provide two *collections* of numbered "mini-documents" taken from American and Russian/Soviet sources. Read through the two collections. When you have finished, select a smaller set of ten documents from each of the two collections. Choose the documents you feel best illuminate the ways Russians and Americans think about the "special" nature of their respective cultures.

Using your two sets of "mini-documents," complete the following exercises:

1. **Identify types and purposes of documents:** Classify each of your documents according to its "type" (i.e., primary source—official document, secondary source—novel, etc.). At the same time, write down your impression as to the "purpose" of each of the documents you have selected.

2. **Find what's important:** Underline the most important or most salient phrases or sentences in each of the 20 documents you have selected. Now copy these underlined portions on your paper and use them as a basis for two descriptive paragraphs that show how Americans and Russians think about themselves. Be sure each paragraph has a topic sentence consistent with the document fragments you have highlighted.

3. **Create generalizations:** Now that you have your two paragraphs, form a generalization on each people's "self-image." Your two generalizations must be supported by the paragraphs that you have written. (**Note:** A valid *generalization* is a statement that is backed up by evidence and is true for all of the parts that support it.)

4. **Evaluate generalizations:** Describe the best ways for someone to *evaluate* the generalizations you have just made. What do you think would be the best methods or approaches to determine if they are in fact valid?

5. **Find similarities and differences:** Think of what you have learned about the history of both peoples. In light of the documents, what do you think are the most fundamental *similarities* and *differences* between the two cultures? Record them in chart form. On your chart, briefly explain the causes of these similarities and differences. Now, on a separate piece of paper, explain how you arrived at your judgments. Write down your judgments and be prepared to participate in a formal debate on these issues.

6. **Compare and contrast:** Using all of the mini-documents, compare and contrast each people's sense of "national purpose" as it has related to specific national challenges. Take notes and then write a letter to the editor that explains the two people's changing sense of "national mission" over the years.

7. **Write a critical essay:** After reviewing both collections of mini-documents, identify those which suggest a belief in a national mission. Now identify those that suggest a sense of moral and political superiority. Write an essay in which you identify, highlight, and explain those portions of the documents that "foreigners" would have the greatest difficulty understanding.

FACT VERSUS OPINION

Using all of the mini-documents, complete the following exercises with your group:

1. **Distinguishing fact from opinion:** Cite all examples in each of the two collections where the author is trying to pass off opinion as fact.

2. **Identifying bias:** List the most glaring examples of bias and narrow thinking. Show how you would change two biased documents in each collection.

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITIES

1. If you were organizing a 30-item museum exhibit to send to Russia to represent the United States, what would you include? Explain why you would include each item in the exhibit. If you were to put together a 30-item assortment that *most accurately depicts the quality* of contemporary American life to a foreigner, in what specific ways would it differ from your "museum exhibit"?

2. Make a chart listing the personal attributes, values, education, career, possessions, leisure activities, achievements, and aspirations for the *ideal* Soviet citizen. Do the same for an American citizen of the same time period.

3. Based upon library research, write a report on a specific topic in Russian art (painting, architecture, music, literature, etc.). As you work, try to find additional information on that phenomenon that many observers refer to as "Russian Soul." If you can, define this elusive artistic quality. See if you can identify a counterpart in American art. Before you begin, interview both your history and art teachers.

4. Prepare an informational poll on Russian life and culture. The poll should assess the extent which stereotypical attitudes exist in your school community. Distribute the poll to faculty and students. You might also ask respondents to list any stereotypical attitudes they believe Russian citizens hold toward Americans.

5. Prepare a panel discussion on the following topic: "The US/USSR: Which Offered a Better Model for a Developing (Third World) Country"?

6. Russian and American youth both have many role models as they pass through their teens. How do you think lists of role models in the two societies would differ? How do you account for such differences? What similarities would you find in both?

7. In an exchange of views with a visiting delegation from the U.S. House of Representatives, Mr. Gorbachev said—with some impatience—"You are not talking to Tanzania or Uganda!" Write this dialogue as you think it *might* have happened, paying some attention to the assumption that both nations believe that they have a special destiny. Now write a letter to Mr. Gorbachev pretending you are a political leader from either African country.

19. ON TO MARS TOGETHER?

Introduction:

This five-day unit provides an interdisciplinary experience in critical thinking. Whether the United States should accept a Soviet invitation to fund a joint, manned expedition to Mars is the question to be deliberated. The subject matter is appropriate for science, history, literature, social studies, film, foreign language, geography, and current events classes. Teachers who enjoy promoting open-ended discussions will feel most comfortable with these lessons.

Students role play experts who analyze the issue from historical, scientific, political, anthropological, psychological, and literary perspectives. Out-of-class research time is not absolutely necessary, but such preparation greatly enhances student learning.

Approximately two days are spent viewing and analyzing the first part of the science fiction video *2010: The Year We Make Contact*. The movie, which is available at most video rental stores, is by far the best stimulus for thoughtful consideration of the question. The movie was rated PG in 1984. There is a little profanity, but nothing sexually or religiously controversial in the 55 minutes shown. Teachers not obtaining the video will need to use one of the magazine articles listed in the **References** section as an alternative stimulus.

The futuristic movie helps highlight the competition/cooperation issue in American and Soviet history in a manner that transcends the Cold War, our teamwork in World War II, and present times. The unit should be relevant as long as the USSR and the United States exist as national units with space programs seeking to go "beyond."

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Withhold immediate judgment on a controversial issue until data has been examined from multiple perspectives.

2. Relate themes developed in a science fiction video to current political and scientific questions.

3. Use personal views and research to role play an expert.

4. Evaluate data and opinions from six academic disciplines.

5. Integrate information from various disciplines into a written summary position.

Materials and Preparation:

The movie *2010: The Year We Make Contact* is available at most video rental outlets. The movie, a VCR, and a television monitor are needed the first two class periods. Also needed for the first day are two copies of Handout 19-1. The 24 Role Cards must be copied and cut out for the third class period. If you have more than 24 students, prepare some cards that simply say "invent your own role," a choice a few students usually prefer.

Teachers will want at least one magazine article available for their own and student background reading. Two possibilities are listed in the **References** section. If students are quite capable of independent research or will improvise their roles without research, those are the only materials needed.

Activity developed by Phillip Davis, Pojoague Middle School, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

However, the depth students give to their roles depends on how well they research their experts' positions. If you wish to help your students research their positions, it is a good idea to read the entire unit a week ahead of time. With the research topics for the various experts in mind, you can line up both material and human sources of information for students research.

The *Time* and *National Geographic* articles mentioned below are excellent, though slightly dated, summaries. History books on both the Cold War and U.S.-Soviet cooperation in World War II are easy to find. You should look for an English-Russian dictionary or beginning Russian textbook. *Surviving Together*, a journal published quarterly by the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, is a good source for examples of scientific cooperation. Stories of industrial and military espionage appear frequently in the popular press and can be related to scientific competition. You might pick out a couple of students a week ahead of time who will impersonate authors and help them find books by people such as Arthur Clarke, Ray Bradbury, Frank Herbert, and Isaac Asimov.

Possible human resources include an exchange student or foreign language teacher to talk about cultural shock and cross-cultural communication, librarians both at school and public libraries who have been given advance notice, an actual claustrophobic or psychologist to talk about how it might feel to be locked up in a spacecraft, someone who speaks Russian or has been to the Soviet Union, etc.

The unit can work with or without this preparation for student research. How much you prepare will depend on your own time, local resources, and the needs of your students.

Time Required: 4-6 class periods. After the third day, students should spend homework time independently thinking about or researching historical, anthropological, scientific, psychological, literary, or political perspectives, in accordance with their roles. It works well to schedule a class period at the library and/or let a weekend fall at that time.

Procedure:

1. Introduce the unit with a series of general questions: Do you think humans will ever travel to Mars? How soon? How important a goal is it? Should we be spending billions of dollars right now to build rockets and test humans' reaction to years of weightlessness in space? If the United States wants to send astronauts to Mars, should we go alone or cooperate with another country? Should we concentrate on a cheaper robot mission rather than an expensive and dangerous manned flight? Allow only very brief discussion at this point, so as not to exhaust an interesting topic before student imagination is even fully engaged with the issues. It is good to ask for a show of hands on some of the yes/no questions to get every student involved.

End by telling students that the Soviet Union has for some time actually invited the United States to begin spending money and working together to send humans to Mars. The question of whether we should accept their offer to go together, go alone, not go at all, or some other possibility is what we will be considering this week. Give students a very brief overview of the unit's activities and format.

2. Before showing the video, set students' expectation so they do not approach the video as passive entertainment. Tell students they will not be seeing the whole movie, only the first 55 minutes, which relate most directly to the question we are examining. Also, especially at the beginning, you will be stopping the video for discussion. The video chronology can help you follow along and plan the timing of your video presentation. Minimally, you will need to interrupt the video at minutes 5, 11, and 27. The last interruption will be for the Russian mini-lesson taught by two students.

If you cannot find a copy of the video, the best short reading to stimulate student imagination is the article "Onward to Mars," *Time Magazine* 123, no. 3 (July 18, 1988), pp. 46-53. It is slightly dated, but introduces many of the same issues dramatized in the movie. The Soviet unmanned probes of Mars and its moon Phobos described in the article both failed.

3. Show the first five minutes, up to the end of the title and credits. Stop the video and make sure students understand that this introductory part is a synopsis of the previous movie in the series, *2001: A Space Odyssey*. According to that movie, the U.S. sent a spaceship called the Discovery to Jupiter in the year 2001. Its crew was believed to have been killed by its own computer HAL; no one knows for sure why. There is a mysterious black monolith near Jupiter; a smaller one was found on our moon. Io and Europa are two moons of Jupiter.

4. Tell students this movie begins nine years later, with the United States and the USSR in a race to see who can get back to Jupiter first to find out what happened. Additional tension is caused by the fact that both countries are almost at war in Central America. Make it clear that although we are talking about humans going to Mars rather than Jupiter, the purpose of viewing the movie is to imagine what such a trip would entail.

Ask the students to watch the next ten minutes of the film carefully. They should look for ways the Americans and Soviets cooperate, and ways they compete and fight. This theme is important in the entire movie, and for determining whether a joint mission to Mars is possible in real life.

5. Show the video up to minute 11, the end of the conversation in front of the White House. Ask the students to identify when the Soviet and Americans were trusting each other and when they were playing power games. Examples of mistrust might include: talk of stealing secrets, talk of helping the "poor Americans" get a ride on THEIR spacecraft, any reference to the problem in Central America, Floyd not wanting even to listen to Moisevitch at the beginning, the plan to tell the U.S. President that we would just lie to the Soviets, etc. Examples of trust and cooperation might include: the "tell the truth for two minutes" game, Moisevitch saying that while the governments might be angry the scientists could work together, Floyd answering Moisevitch's questions about repairing the computer, etc. This is an oversimplification, but the main objective is to get students to focus on the issue of cooperation vs. competition. In some ways, even Floyd and Moisevitch's open references to stealing secrets and competition were attempts to admit problems and look for solutions. Of course the plan to lie to the President about lying to the Soviets was actually an attempt to get a cooperative space venture launched.

6. With one exception (minute 27), how often you stop the video after this is up to you. The video introduces many of the problems and possibilities that will be dealt with by the "experts" in the following simulation. For example, there is a solution to the scientific problem of limited food and oxygen (hibernation). There are references to a Cold-War-type incident in Central America, and scenes showing cross-cultural suspicion as well as trust. Whether you interrupt the video or wait to the end to help students note these historic, psychological, scientific, and anthropological perspectives will depend on your preferences and the needs of your students.

Show the movie up to minute 27 or the end of the first class period, whichever comes first.

7. Select two capable volunteers for the roles of an immigrant professor of Russian, Dr. Alex Ivanovitch Banov, and Robert Smith, an American high school Russian language teacher. They will need to take Handout 19-1 home to study for a presentation on language the next day. Their task will be to introduce the problem of which language must be used on the spacecraft and to teach students a few Russian words that appear in the video. It is important to select capable students for this job, since they will be modeling the skill of "acting the part" of an expert before the other students choose and assume their roles.

8. At the beginning of class the second day, the students playing Dr. Banov and Robert Smith should give their presentation.

9. Show the movie to minute 54, stopping as you wish for comments or discussion. The Russian words students just learned appear in the video and are indicated in the chronology. The movie goes on about an hour beyond the 54-minute section described in the movie chronology. The rest of the movie distracts from the themes treated here and is not recommended for this unit.

10. Explain to students that each will receive a card describing the individual he or she will be impersonating. Some cards describe real persons, and some are fictitious. The job of each student will be to represent an expert at a simulated conference to determine whether the United States should at this time accept the Soviet Union's offer to fund a joint, manned flight to Mars. Hand out the Role Cards to the students. You can hand out the cards randomly or choose certain individuals for specific roles. They will have a chance to trade cards in a minute, but should not at this time.

11. Tell students that the first task for each will be to walk around the room and locate the three other individuals in his or her discipline. There are four roles in each of six categories: scientists, psychologists, politicians, historians, anthropologists (includes language teachers), and science fiction writers. Write the six categories on the board. Once they have located the other anthropologists, politicians, etc., the group should write two things on the board. The first is a definition of their discipline. Second, they need to justify how their expertise is needed at this conference to determine whether the United States should go to Mars with the Soviets. Encourage some friendly competition between the group justifications. It is very important that students develop their own definitions and justifications, but here are some examples for the teacher's reference:

> Politics is the game of determining who gets money from the national treasury. Political people need to be at this conference to discuss whether manned space flight to other planets is a national priority.
>
> Science fiction is the art of imagining the future. Science fiction writers need to help the conference envision future possibilities, thus serving as the "antennae of the race."
>
> Psychology is the study of individual mental processes and behavior. Since manned space flight to other planets will put tremendous stress on the astronauts, we need to think about how they will react.
>
> Anthropology is the science that investigates the components of culture that make up a people's "way of life." Anthropologists will understand the differences in the outlooks of the Soviet and American astronauts resulting from their membership in societies with different cultures.
>
> History is the academic study of the past. Historians have examined Soviet-American relationships in the past and have interpreted their meaning. They can also record the most important proceedings of the discussion.
>
> Language teachers have an understanding that language in itself helps to shape a people's cultural and psychological identity. Like the anthropologists, they have a sense of the distinct qualities of Russian and American culture and can try to evaluate where communication may prove difficult and how to avoid misunderstandings.
>
> Physical scientists attempt to explain the natural world. Scientists should be well represented at the conference in order to provide specific data on a variety of pertinent topics both directly and indirectly related to the flight to Mars.

12. When all the groups are finished writing on the board, announce that students will be able to trade cards. However, they first need to hear about the various disciplines. Let each group give their discipline definition and justification, and then announce any roles individuals in their group would like to trade.

Allow some time for students to trade role cards. Some may wish to modify the existing roles or even invent their own. Perhaps someone has a favorite science fiction writer not listed whom they would like to impersonate. Perhaps new developments in science and world affairs will make students want to replace some of the "ready made" roles. That kind of serious critique of the simulation process should be encouraged.

13. When students have settled on their roles, the next assignment is to prepare to impersonate that individual. As mentioned earlier, how much research the teacher would like to require is very flexible.

The most simplistic approach is to have students spend a few minutes individually preparing some notes and opinions for their character. The unit has been successfully piloted using this method. A bit more complicated is to have them read the eight-page *Time* article to get a general perspective on the mission's problems and possibilities, as well as some specific facts relevant to the opinion they will present.

A more thorough approach is to ask each student to do independent research using other people and written materials as sources of information. This research may change the "persona" or opinion the student originally stated as their role, but that is a part of any intellectual adventure. The animal psychologist may discover that under correct conditions, rats can spend long periods of time in a restricted area. The teacher may need to help students find resources.

The most ambitious approach is to require that no student present a view without actual data to back up his/her points. Those impersonating authors will need to have read some of their books. The politicians will need to find out something about current public opinion toward spending money on space or domestic needs. The anthropologists will need to talk with people who have experienced cultural conflict or culture shock. The historians will need to have researched Soviet-American relations over the years. The psychologists and scientists will need data to back up their views on human behavior and the technical problems of spaceflight. Students may even want to conduct their own research. For example, the politicians may want to conduct a student poll.

Besides preparing an opinion, students need to invent a name and title where none is indicated on their role cards. They may want to associate themselves with a famous university, or invent some titles for books they have published. The pseudonyms should be displayed so they can be addressed as "Dr. X" or "Senator Y." Frequently, students will speak, think, and act with a great deal more freedom when everyone knows they are playing a role. Discourage giving in to the anti-intellectual stereotypes in American culture which show serious thinkers to be foolish and absent-minded personalities. One of the most important objectives of this unit is to help high school students explore being a serious thinker or leader, a role that can be difficult during adolescence.

Tell the students not to worry if they use their role to express views that are somewhat in conflict with their own personal opinions. At the end of the simulation, there will be a final discussion and vote in which they will return to their own identity and views.

14. When students have finished their research, the recommended discussion format has three stages. First, the students meet in their groups by discipline; second, each group shares its findings and opinions with the whole class; finally, the students drop their roles and reach a collective position or positions on the question.

In the small-group discussion by discipline, each individual needs to present his or her view. Then the group should prepare a presentation for the whole conference (the whole class), including recommendations. If there is not total agreement for or against the mission, they should present both majority and minority reports. They can give a written report, present a prepared panel discussion, or choose a couple of speakers to represent their discipline.

15. As the psychologists, authors, historians, etc. gives their presentations, they should invite questions or challenges relevant to their discipline from the experts not in their field or group. It is a good idea to save the political group for the last presentation. Many students tend to vote for or against funding the mission on the basis of whether we have more important national needs such as the environment or the homeless. Leaving that funding issue to the end allows them more time to examine the complexity of the question before reaching a conclusion.

16. After all the groups have presented, the conference is ready for a final vote. Up to this point, the discussion has been "in character," with students being addressed by their titles and pseudonyms. The last stage is to drop the roles and bring the issue to a closure or vote. Someone will probably suggest that they do not vote just "yes" or "no," but consider compromise positions, such as delaying the vote until more is known. They may also suggest cooperation with other countries besides the Soviet Union. Those against the space mission may want to suggest an international effort against hunger or for the environment. While all alternatives should be considered, it is good to force some kind of specific decision as a closure to the debate.

Of course it is important that students understand that the majority vote does not "win" the argument. Future events or new scientific discoveries may change the political and technical picture. The minority view or views may prevail in the year 2010.

17. A good optional conclusion is to ask students to reflect on the week's activities. How have their views on international cooperation and manned spaceflight to other planets changed? You might want to ask the same questions with which you started the week. Which group or individual most influenced each student's views? How would they organize a commission to study this or other similar questions that require information and opinions from various types of experts?

Evaluation:

An oral participation grade for both individual contributions and group presentations is appropriate as a partial evaluation for this unit. Students can be asked to document their research activities. Several alternative writing assignments are listed below. In all of these assessments, it is important that both quality of thought and thoroughness of research be used as evaluation criteria. Students need to be given credit for the complexity of their thoughts, their ability to critique and evaluate data and opinions, and their ability to synthesize various disciplines into a coherent, personal view on the issue.

As a final evaluation, ask students to summarize their personal point of view on the question of a U.S.-Soviet manned mission to Mars using one of the following written formats:

- A formal essay, giving arguments for and against the mission and then concluding with a justified personal position.
- A letter to the editor of a newspaper or a letter to a Senator or Representative justifying a position. Students should be encouraged to actually send these letters.
- An invented conversation between two or more experts with opposing points of view on the issue.
- A proposal for a series of experiments to test various hypotheses about space flight. These may deal with human adaptation to space (psychology), human interaction with other cultures (anthropology), or more physical questions like bone deterioration, propulsion, or oxygen recycling. Students should argue that their research question or experimental design is the one that most deserves funding.
- A short story or poem about manned flight to Mars. Students should treat some of the scientific and human themes brought up in this unit.

Enrichment/Extension:

Students can do a short "freewrite" imagining themselves as one of the characters in the movie. Sample starter lines could be: "As the female captain of the Leonov, Tatiana Orlova, I liked/disliked Dr. Heywood Floyd because..." or "The biggest difficulty/greatest enjoyment I had (pick any character) while on the Leonov was..."

References:

The topic of manned flight to Mars flares up periodically in the popular press, then dies down again. When you read this, there may be many good contemporary articles available.

In 1988 quite a few articles appeared in connection with the Soviets' launching two unmanned probes towards Mars. Although those missions failed, the issues raised then are still relevant. Two highly readable articles are:

Collins, Michael, "Mission to Mars," *National Geographic* 174, no. 5 (November 1988), pp. 732-764.

Jaroff, Leon, "Mission to Mars," *Time* 132, no. 3 (July 18, 1988).

Surviving Together, published by and available from the Institute for Soviet-American Relations, 1608 New Hampshire Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20009; (202) 387-3034.

Wilford, John Noble, *Mars Beckons* (New York: Knopf, 1990).

Teacher Background Information:

Video Chronology

Minute	Scene
0 to 3	Copyright warning, "Mission Background" information printed from previous movie Space Odyssey 2001.
3 to 5	Title and credits.
5 to 11	Conversation between Soviet Moisevitch and American Floyd at a radar site.
11 to 14	Conversation in front of White House between Floyd and N.C.A. director. (Most of the profanity is here.)
14 to 17	Computer expert Chandra with the computer SAL.
17 to 22	Scenes with Floyd and his family in and around their house in Hawaii.
23 to 27	Floyd is awakened by the Soviets on board the spacecraft *Leoniv*. They meet and discuss data about Jupiter's moon Europa.
27 to 31	An unmanned probe is sent down to Europa, but it is destroyed. Russian word for Europa flashes on screen about six or seven times.
31 to 33	Floyd and the Soviets discuss the probe and the monolith.
33 to 34	Floyd writes a letter to his wife explaining aerobraking.
35 to 39	Aerobraking begins. Soviet girl joins Floyd in his cabin. Scenes of the spacecraft shaking, surrounded by fire. In minute 39 she says "dah" or (yes).
39 to 42	Floyd reviews the "My God, it's full of stars" tape. He talks with Americans Chandra and Curnow.

Minute	Scene
43 to 54	Curnow and Soviet Brailovsky spacewalk from the Leonov to the spaceship Discovery. They board it and explore a bit. Curnow learns some Russian. Minute 46 "KOOretsa" = Chicken Minute 49 "dooRAHK" = Stupid Minute 54 "spahSEEbah" = Thank you

Russian Words

ЕВРОПА pronounced "evROpa" = Jupiter's moon Europa

ДА pronounced "dah" = yes

Ку́рица pronounced "KOOreetsa" = chicken

Дура́к pronounced "dooRAKH" = stupid

СПАСИ́БО pronounced "spahSEEbah" = thank you

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE LESSON TEACHER ROLES

Professor Alex Ivanovitch Banov

You emigrated from the USSR at age 25, so you have a Russian accent. You write on the board in the Cyrillic alphabet the five words shown below. Teach students the pronunciation and meaning of these words, which will be appearing in the movie. You say something like this:

"Of course, if you are going to have joint space mission with Soviets, you must learn Russian. It is not difficult language. In Europe everyone learns two languages, minimum. You cannot expect everyone to learn English for you if you want to cooperate."

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Robert Smith

You are a high school Russian language teacher who serves on the President's Commission on the Study of Foreign Languages in American High Schools. After Professor Banov speaks, you say something like this:

"Wait a minute. Don't let anyone tell you Russian is easy. Just take that word 'KOOreetsa.' It, like all nouns, has many different forms, depending on whether it is the subject, direct object, indirect object, etc. Also, Russian doesn't have just masculine and feminine like Spanish, but masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns and adjectives. If this mission is dependent on Americans learning Russian, forget it. How are we going to find someone who is both a good astronaut AND speaks Russian? I don't think this is very realistic. Americans are not ready to get serious about learning about other cultures or even just the language. Of course the Soviets might be willing to learn English. But in a long-term flight, it might not be good for the Americans to remain ignorant of the other culture and language."

Psychologists

You have conducted numerous experiments with rats and other animals on the effects of living in restricted space. All of your research shows that keeping animals in a tiny, crowded area leads to strange and perverse behavior. However, you are not sure that humans would react in exactly the same way.

You wrote a popular book entitled *Danger: What Brings People Together.* You own a company that takes diverse groups out climbing mountains and boating down wild rivers. You believe that sharing danger is the most effective way of bonding people. You believe that the shared risks of space flight will weld the crew into a team, no matter where they are from.

You are an expert on the chemical treatment of depression. While you believe that astronauts become depressed after a long time in space, drugs could help with that condition. You are a little concerned about side effects from taking anti-depressant drugs for a long time.

You are a university professor and author of the book, *Let's Get Out of Here: A Guide to Claustrophobia.* You believe that all humans are claustrophobics if put in the wrong environment. Your equation is: stress + small living space + time = insanity.

Historians

You have spend most of your career studying World War II. You specialize in the cooperation between the United States and Soviet Union, which resulted in the defeat of Adolf Hitler and the German Reich. You remind us of the millions of Soviets who died in that war. You believe that international cooperation has been a very positive force in history, and that we should go to Mars with the Soviets.

You have studied espionage in modern times. You wrote a book about how the Soviets stole the secret of making the atomic bomb from the United States in the 1940s. You admit that all countries practice espionage and that the USSR would have developed nuclear weapons without spying. You think that joint space flight is a bad idea because we will be handing over valuable scientific information.

You are a specialist in U.S.-Soviet relations since World War II. Your first book was about the Cold War, especially the Vietnam and Korean Wars. More recently, you published an article on U.S.- Soviet cooperation, beginning with our space link-up in the early 1970s. You are undecided on the question of a joint space mission, but you believe the arms race has been a disaster for both countries.

You are an expert on the rise and fall of empires. You think that the Soviet Union and the United States are at the end of their time as superpowers. You believe that only with world teamwork will exploration of other planets be successful. You favor inviting the Japanese and Europeans to participate.

Scientists

You are a rocket expert who believes that the problems of going to Mars have been underestimated. You believe it would take two to three years to go and return. With today's rockets, it would take about one million pounds of fuel. For each crew member, you would need two pounds of oxygen, four pounds of water, and three pounds of food for each day.

Your field of research is the effects of weightlessness. You know that a long period of time at zero gravity wastes away muscles and damages bones. The Soviets are ahead of American scientists in your field, so you are very excited about exchanging information. You favor a joint mission because you believe in cooperation and because you think that artificial gravity can solve the problem of weightlessness.

You are an expert in the field of recycling. You believe that we can devise a system to reclaim pure water from urine and wash water, and also to reclaim oxygen from the carbon dioxide exhaled by astronauts. You are designing a system in which plants would be kept on board the spacecraft both for oxygen and for food.

You received a Nobel prize in biology. While you believe humans will reach Mars, you think that it will not be until about the year 2050. You believe that scientists talk up and promote their research ideas to get government money, even when they know they cannot deliver on their promises. You favor a cheaper, unmanned flight to Mars.

Science Fiction Writers

You are Arthur C. Clarke. In 1968 you published *2001: A Space Odyssey*. In 1982 you published *2010: Odyssey Two*. Both books were made into movies. In 1987 you published *2061: Odyssey Three*. You are the author of over 50 fiction and nonfiction books. What is your view of a joint mission to Mars?

You are Frank Herbert, author of the *Dune* series. You are very concerned about ecological issues, such as the depletion of our water supply. You envision space flight being based more on the psychic ability to "bend space" rather than mechanical space flight. What is your view on funding a joint mission to Mars using present technology?

You are Ray Bradbury, the "grandfather" of American science fiction writers. One of your most famous collections of short stories was *The Martian Chronicles*. You wrote about rockets long before any satellite was actually launched. Just being around a rocket launching excites you. But you have also written about failed space missions. What is your view?

You are Isaac Asimov. You were born in the Soviet Union, but moved to the United States at age three. You have written dozens of science fiction books, and you are also a biochemist. Some of your most famous work has dealt with robots. What is your view of presently sending humans to Mars in a joint U.S.-Soviet mission?

Political People

You are a U.S. Senator whose main message used to be that we must be strong in our fight with the Soviet Union. You sense that people do not believe that any more, so you are looking for a new message. It is important to you that the United States look good in space.

You are a political columnist for the *New York Times*. You believe that the environment and education are the most important needs in American society today. You are excited by the idea of space travel to Mars, but are not sure how much money should be spent on it.

You are a representative from an area of high poverty. You are against funding the space program; you believe we need to spend more money helping our own poor people.

You are elected from a district that receives a lot of money for military programs, especially research. You would like to see those labs converted to solving ecological problems or space research, but you are afraid the people in your state will lose jobs in that transition. You will back a joint space mission with the Soviets if some of the money taken from the military to fund it ends up in your state.

Anthropologists and Language Teachers

You are Russian language professor Alex Ivanovitch Banov who taught some Russian words earlier to the class. You believe that learning other languages and cultures is easy. You are hopeful that international cooperation will take place between your native Soviet Union and your adopted country, the United States.

You are Robert Smith, a high school Russian teacher who spoke to the class earlier. You are frustrated with Americans because they do not seem to care about learning languages. You believe that U.S. efforts at international cooperation are doomed because we will not take the time to understand other cultures.

You are Dr. Edward T. Hall. One of your early famous books is *The Silent Language*. You believe that Americans and Soviets have very different views on such things as privacy and time. In fact there is no word in Russian for privacy. You think that a joint mission would fail because of cultural differences. You say that each culture has its own unconscious system of attitudes and customs, and cross-cultural communication is difficult.

You have studied the personalities of people who enjoy interacting with other cultures. You have doctorates in both anthropology and psychology, but will meet with the anthropologists. One of your books predicts what kind of American students will be successful exchange students. You believe that certain healthy personalities thrive on being with different kinds of people. Most American astronauts do not fit in this category.

V. LITERATURE OF THE SOVIET PERIOD

This section presents a taste of the literature of the Soviet period, focusing on Isaac Babel's "In the Basement" and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's "Matryona's Home." The activities follow the same model used in several of the activities in Section III. The same model could be used to promote student analysis of other literary works of the Soviet period.

20. BABEL'S "IN THE BASEMENT"

Introduction:

Isaac Babel, whose popularity was at its height in the 1920s, was born into a middle-class Jewish family in Odessa. The short story writer was well-known for the conciseness of his work, once saying, "There is no iron that can enter the human heart with such stupefying effect as a period placed at just the right moment." "In the Basement," the story that provides the focus for this activity, illustrates both this brevity and the subject matter of many of his works—his early life in the Jewish community of Odessa. Babel fell from popularity under Stalin, apparently because he did not write about political themes and because of his description of brutality practiced by Russian soldiers in Poland. He is believed to have been executed or to have died in a concentration camp.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Describe the hardships suffered by the Jews in Russia before the revolution in 1917.

2. Understand the universality of human nature and humor (i.e., how a common personal dilemma can occur in many settings).

Materials and Preparation: You will need copies of Babel's short story, "In the Basement." You may choose to use the handouts provided.

Time Required: The story is about 10 pages long. The teacher should allot at least 15 minutes the first day, the entire class the second day, and time for evaluation the third. Several days before the lesson begins, select one student to gather biographical material on Isaac Babel and another student to report on the plight of Jews in tsarist Russia. If you want to take another day on the lesson, find a tape or film of "Fiddler on the Roof," which also concerns the Jews in Russia at this time.

Procedure:

1. This story lends itself to the teacher's reading aloud if your students will sit still for that sort of thing. Reading the story aloud or allowing students time to read to themselves the first day will get them hooked on the story. Advise the students as they read to think of the situations that arise in the story and see if they can think of instances in which similar situations occur in modern settings. Some of the situations are:
   - Older relatives of a young person do something that shames the younger one.
   - Two entirely different people from different backgrounds become friends.
   - We worry that everything will be "just right" for someone's visit, then things go all wrong.
   - We lie about our background in order to impress someone, then the truth comes out.

2. On the second day, students who did advance research can make their presentations.

3. Use the following questions to guide discussion of the story:
   - How did Isaac and Borgman become friends? (They met in school. Borgman was one of the few people who appreciated Isaac's vivid imagination.)
   - What things about Borgman's house were surprising to Isaac? (All things: the setting, spaciousness, servants, well-dressed people.)
   - What arrangement did Isaac make for Borgman's visit to his house? (He sent his grandfather to the neighbors and his Uncle Simon to the tavern. His aunt baked apple strudel.)

Activity developed by Richard Lewis Carter, Highline High School, Seattle, Washington.

- What went wrong with Isaac's plans? (His Uncle Simon came home drunk and started fighting with his aunt; then his grandfather stood outside the window playing the fiddle.)
- What did Isaac do that evening after his grandfather was asleep? (He submerged himself in the water barrel and tried to drown himself--that is, to rid himself of his shame.)
- What is distinctively Russian about the setting? (The type of housing and the extended family.)
- What is distinctively Jewish about the story? (The references to the Talmud, the type of food they ate, and their having an intellectual nature even though they were poor.)
- What is universal about the story? (Some of the same situations could occur in other settings: drunken uncle, sloppy grandfather, poor boy with rich friend, young people embarrassed about their homes and families. Other families might encounter love of literature, family fights, problems when they move outside their regular social environment. A person's economic level is not always directly related to his/her cultural level. Teachers, for example, were often more aware of art, music, and literature than people in better-paying professions.)

Evaluation:

Handout 20-2 can be used for evaluation purposes. Answers are: **1.** F; **2.** F; **3.** F; **4.** F; **5.** F; **6.** T; **7.** T; **8.** T; **9.** F; **10.** T; **11.** Isaac was trying to impress Borgman, but Isaac's family was a terrible embarrassment to him; this could happen to anyone; **12.** The Bolsheviks were the Communists. Babel, along with all the other Jews in Russia, had been oppressed by the tsarist government. Babel hoped that under the Communists there would be more equality.

ISAAC BABEL
1894-1941

Not much is known about Isaac Babel. He was born in the Jewish section of the city of Odessa on the Black Sea. His father was a salesman who owned a small warehouse. There were many French influences in Odessa, and the first stories Babel wrote were in French. When he was 19, he moved to St. Petersburg, where he made friends with the famous author, Maxim Gorky. Babel's stories were declared subversive by the tsarist government, but he was never prosecuted because the government fell in 1917.

Babel joined the Bolsheviks and in 1920 was assigned to a troop of Cossacks in the Red Army. From his experiences, he wrote *Red Cavalry*, a collection of stories printed in 1926. Later he became noted also for his stories about his Jewish childhood in Odessa.

In the 1930s Babel's unwillingness to conform to Communist rules brought him into conflict with the party, and he stopped writing. He disappeared in 1939 and is believed to have died in a Soviet labor camp in 1941.

"IN THE BASEMENT" QUIZ

In the blank before each statement, write **T** for true or **F** for false.

1. _____ Isaac always told the truth.
2. _____ Borgman and Isaac became friends when they were only nine years old.
3. _____ Borgman's father was a German sea captain.
4. _____ Isaac's home was nicer than Borgman's.
5. _____ Aunt Bobka baked gingerbread cookies for Isaac and Borgman.
6. _____ Uncle Simon drank vodka in his tea.
7. _____ Grandfather wrote notes describing all his neighbors.
8. _____ Isaac recited Shakespeare for Borgman.
9. _____ Uncle Simon entertained Borgman by telling him war stories.
10. _____ Isaac cried after Borgman went home.
11. Describe a situation in this story that could happen to anyone, anywhere.

12. Who were the Bolsheviks? Why do you suppose Babel wanted to become one of them?

21. SOLZHENITSYN'S "MATRYONA'S HOME"

Introduction:

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's winning of the Nobel Prize in Literature and his exile in the United States have made him the Soviet writer most familiar to Americans. His best known work is the three-volume *The Gulag Archipelago, 1918-1956*, a grim picture of Soviet prison camps; the work also deals with the loss of a sense of Russian history under Lenin and Stalin, a concern of Solzhenitsyn's. The story examined in this activity is one of Solzhenitsyn's earlier works, published in 1963 in the Soviet magazine *Novy mir*. By the 1970s, Solzhenitsyn's work was no longer being published in his own country, appearing only in the West. Only recently have his works again begun to be published in the Soviet Union.

Objectives: Students will be able to:

1. Describe the life of modern-day Russian peasants.

2. Understand that Russians are varied people, some scheming and greedy, others open-hearted and generous.

Materials and Preparation: Everyone will need a copy of Solzhenitsyn's short story, "Matryona's Home." You will also need copies of the handouts provided with the activity.

At least a week before the lesson is assigned, select students to prepare the following presentations:

- Read the story with the idea of gathering together the scattered references to what Matryona's home looked like. Do research on the peasant *izba*. Draw a diagram or make a model of the house.
- Report on the life of Solzhenitsyn. Emphasize his works and to what extent the books he wrote reflect his life.
- Report on rural life in Russia. Give facts and figures on rural vs. urban population percentages. What is life like on a collective farm? What do they eat? How do they keep warm in the winter? What is a tractor station? What is peat?
- Have a student read selections from the book, *Gulag Archipelago*. Have the student report on what Solzhenitsyn says about people who are released from concentration camps but kept in political exile, as was Matryona's lodger. What rules and procedures are followed? What are their living conditions while in exile?
- Organize at least four students to debate the following question: "Was Matryona a fool or a saint?"

Time Required: "Matryona's Home" is about 40 pages long. Three class periods should be sufficient for discussion.

Procedure:

1. During the first class period, have students make their presentations on Solzhenitsyn and rural life.

2. Assign reading of the story to be completed as homework.

Activity developed by Richard Lewis Carter, Highline High School, Seattle, Washington.

3. The following day, have the other prepared presentations. Conduct a discussion of the following questions:

- To what extent was this story autobiographical? (Solzhenitsyn had been in a prison, he had been assigned a rural village in which to live and teach, and he had been a mathematics teacher.)
- What was Matryona's home like? (It was a poor Russian *izba*, which is a combined barn, storeroom, and house. Tie-beams and a stairway connected it to an *ambar*, a smaller, cabin-shaped structure used for storing grain and other farm produce. Both the house and storeroom were two-story structures with living quarters on the top floor of the main house. In Matryona's case, the top floor of the storeroom could be a spare bedroom.)
- How were all the characters in this story related to Matryona? (Yefin—Yefim's brother. Helped Yefin build the house. When they were young, he had been in love with Matryona; Kira—Faddei's daughter who had been raised by Matryona. The other Matryona—Faddei's wife. Masha—Matryona's old friend. Ignatich—the author, narrator.)
- Why was Matryona so special? (Most of all, she was a stereotypical figure, a personification of a Russian grandmother. She bore her grief quietly without feeling sorry for herself. She was strong and independent and always helpful and concerned for others, even to the point of leaving her own chores undone. She was charitable to a fault in the case of her "upper room." She let her relatives have it even though it was not in her best interests to give it away.)
- Discuss the details of death, burial, and disposal of the dead person's property. How would these things have been done in America?
- Discuss the instances in which Matryona was badly treated.

Evaluation:

Handout 21-2 can be used for evaluation purposes. Answers are: **1.** T; **2.** F; **3.** F; **4.** F; **5.** T; **6.** F; **7.** T; **8.** T; **9.** T; **10.** F; **11.** Strengths: strong, independent, helpful; Weakness: Had a disease like epilepsy; **12.** She was killed by a locomotive that shouldn't have been running without lights. She was working with men who had borrowed a tractor without permission. Kira's husband should have gone to the station to warn them about the tractor on the crossing; **13.** A sister took the goat. The cobbler and his wife, who was another sister, got the house. Faddei got the top room, the goat shed, and the fence. Masha got her gray shawl.

ALEKSANDR SOLZHENITSYN
1918-

Solzhenitsyn is a descendant of Russian gentry on his mother's side. His father, from peasant stock, was an artillery officer in World War I. Several months before Solzhenitsyn was born, his father was killed in a hunting accident.

Solzhenitsyn grew up in Rostov-on-the-Don and graduated from the University of Rostov in June 1941. During World War II, he enlisted, becoming an artillery officer like his father. He was sent to the front, where he was decorated twice for bravery.

Writing had always been Solzhenitsyn's first interest. He studied mathematics at the university so that he would have a way of making a living while he wrote. During the war, he wrote letters to a friend that were uncomplimentary to Stalin; they were intercepted by the government.

Solzhenitsyn was arrested, court-martialed, and sent to a Siberian labor camp, where he was interned until 1953. After he was released, he was still kept in internal exile in Siberia. During this time, he had cancer and recovered, worked as a mathematics teacher, and worked on his writing. In 1962 his first famous novel, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, was published. The book, about life in a labor camp, made him immediately famous.

Between 1962 and 1974, Solzhenitsyn submitted a number of other novels, but none of them was published because they did not conform to the rules of socialist realism. Some of the manuscripts were smuggled to the west and printed there. That, plus his nomination for the Nobel Prize in literature in 1970, put him into serious difficulties with his political superiors. In 1974 he was arrested for treason and sent into exile. Today he lives with his wife and three sons in Vermont.

His most famous novels, besides those mentioned above, are *Cancer Ward* and *The First Circle*. He wrote a long documentary on the Soviet prison system, *The Gulag Archipelago*. After that he wrote a historical novel about World War I, *August 1914*. None of these books was printed in the Soviet Union until recently, with the advent of the new policy of *glasnost'*. He is now working on a sequel to *August 1914*.

"MATRYONA'S HOME" QUIZ

Indicate whether each statement below is true or false.

1. _____ This story took place in 1953.
2. _____ Matryona was eager to take in a lodger.
3. _____ Ignatich worked for the railroad.
4. _____ In the winters, the people of Talnovo burned pine wood in their stoves.
5. _____ There were lots of mice in Matryona's home.
6. _____ Matryona's husband disappeared in 1935.
7. _____ Faddei was Matryona's brother-in-law.
8. _____ Kira was Faddei's daughter.
9. _____ A train locomotive killed Matryona.
10. _____ Ignatich moved back to Moscow at the end of the story.
11. Name at least three strengths and one weakness of Matryona.

12. Tell how Matryona was killed. What did obeying or disobeying the law have to do with it?

13. Tell who inherited what from Matryona.

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